

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

of the Protestant Episcopal Church

DECEMBER, 1949

In Memoriam: Edward Clowes Chorley
Priest and Doctor

"The Church in the XVIIIth Century"

THE FOUNDATION AND EARLY WORK OF THE
CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY

By Phyllis Jane Wetherell

MUSIC OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN PENNSYLVANIA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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UNION, 1689-1710.....

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REVIEWS: Province of the Pacific, *Sanford*. American Freedom and Catholic Power, *Blanshard*. Richard Hooker and Contemporary Political Ideas, *Shirley*. History of the English People in the XIXth Century, *Halevy*. Zwingli and Cranmer on the Eucharist, *Richardson*. How We Got Our Prayer Book, *Eckel*. Genius and Mission of the Episcopal Church, *Marshall*. Introduction to Comparative Mysticism, *deMarquette*. Christ, *Beyer*. Hindu View of Christ, *Akhilananda*. Dublin, *Harvey*.

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IN MEMORIAM

EDWARD CLOWES CHORLEY

May 6, 1865-November 2, 1949

PRIEST AND DOCTOR

Historiographer of the Church

1919-1949

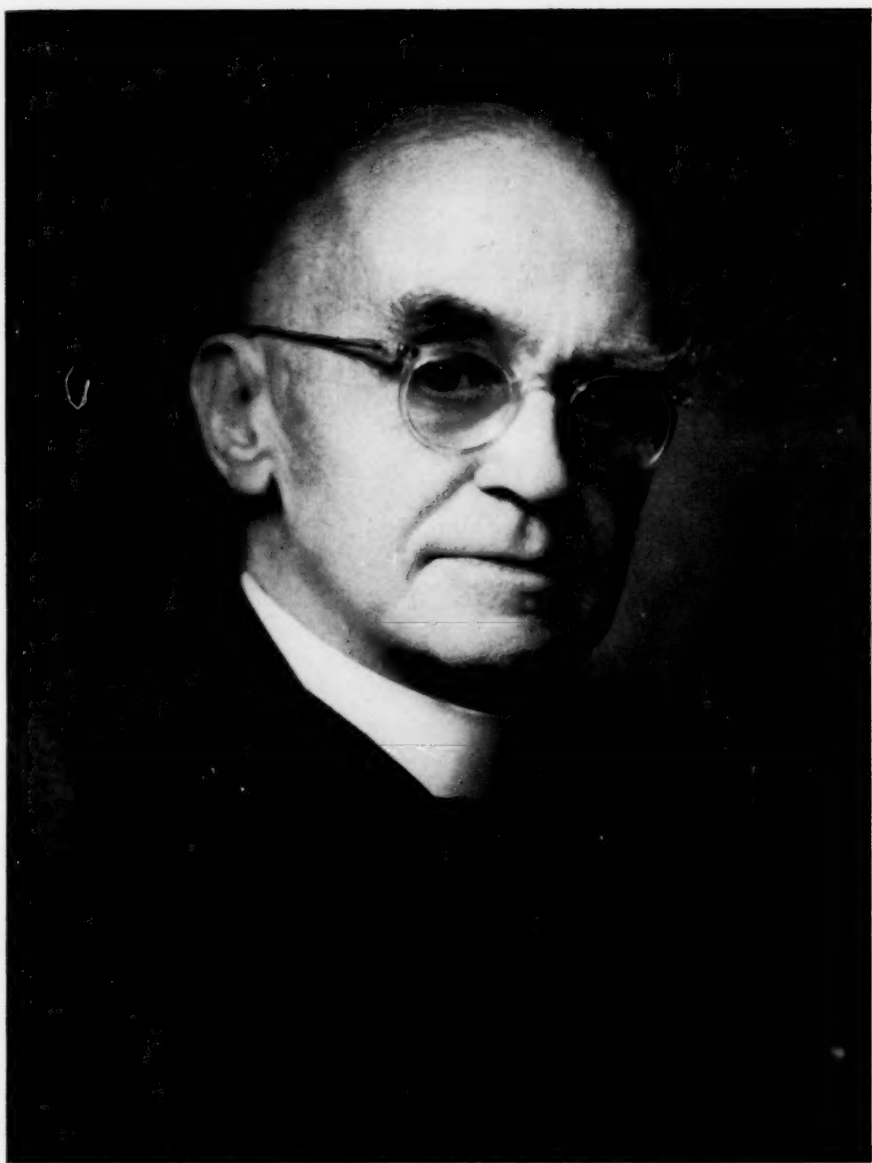
Founder and Editor-in-Chief of

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

1932-1949

At the age of sixty-six, Dr. Chorley envisioned the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, and, principally through his leadership, the General Convention of 1931 authorized its establishment. If one would see his monument, let him examine its eighteen annual volumes, wherein over 6,750 pages of Ecclesiastical History and Biography, contributed by scores of Bishops, Presbyters, Laymen, and Laywomen, have been published under his Editorship. Dr. Chorley's own contributions were both numerous and outstanding. At the age of eighty-four, God gave him rest.

REQUIESCAT IN PACE

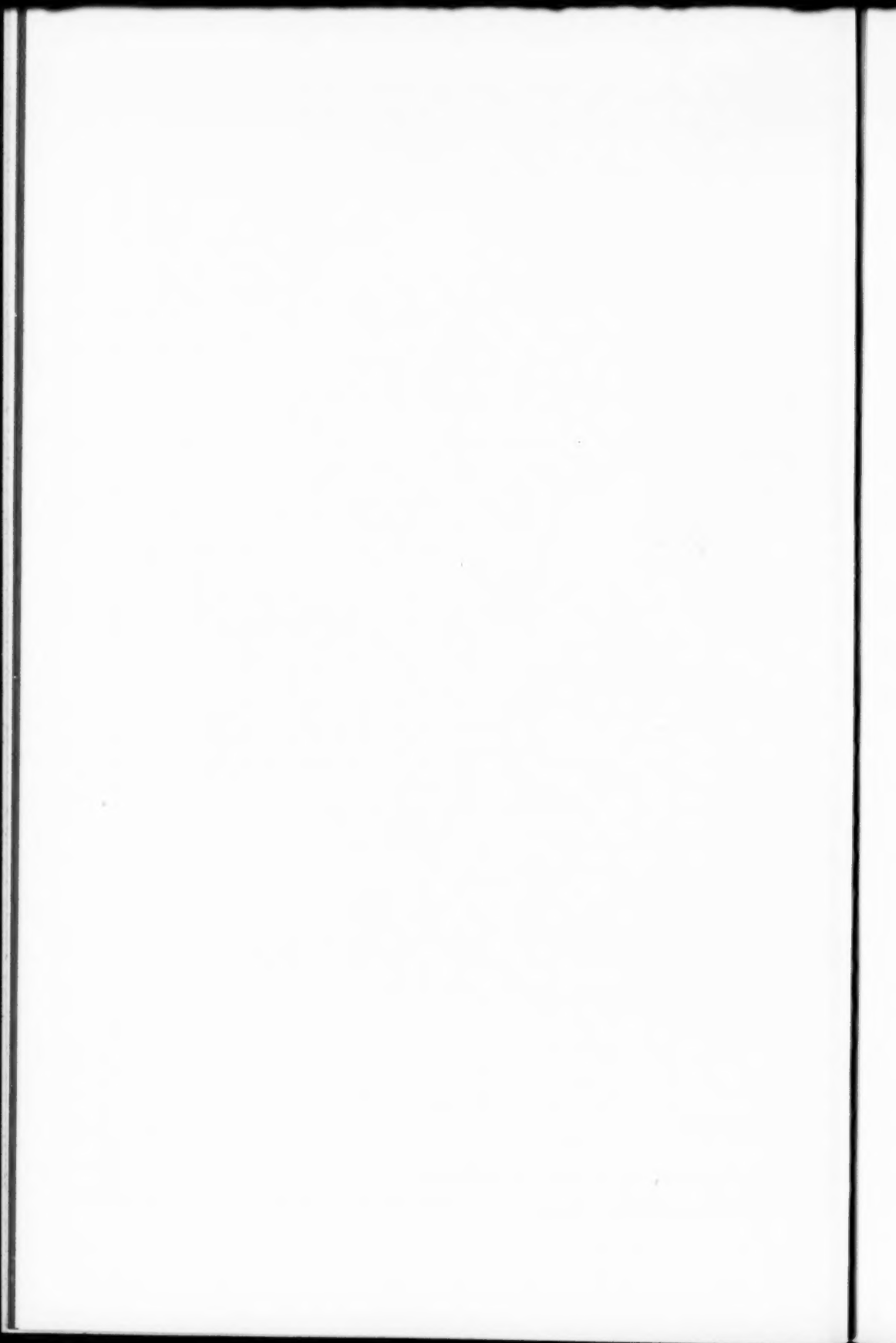


Photograph by Fabian Bachrach

THE REV. E. CLOWES CHORLEY, D.D., L.H.D.
MAY 6, 1865—NOVEMBER 2, 1949

HISTORIOGRAPHER OF THE CHURCH
1919-1949

FOUNDER AND EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE
1932-1949



EDWARD CLOWES CHORLEY

Was born on May 6, 1865, in Manchester, England, the son of Henry George Chorley and Paulina (Clowes). In 1888, he was graduated B.A. from Richmond College. After serving for some years in the Methodist ministry, he came to America, and took Orders in the Episcopal Church: on February 23, 1902, he was ordered Deacon by Bishop Henry Codman Potter of New York; on May 25, 1902, he was ordained Priest by Bishop George Worthington of Nebraska, acting for the Bishop of New York. He thus served the Church as Deacon and Priest for forty-seven years.

Dr. Chorley held degrees from the Philadelphia Divinity School, B.D., 1904; from Trinity College, D.D., 1916; and from Kenyon College, L.H.D., 1933.

After serving as Assistant to the Rector of Christ Church, Yonkers, New York, 1901-02, he became Rector of Emmanuel Church, Great River, New York, 1902-06, and Assistant at Bethesda Church, Saratoga, New York, 1906-08. In the latter year, he accepted the Rectorship of St. Philip's Church-in-the-Highlands, Garrison, New York, which he served for thirty-two years, until his retirement from the parochial ministry in 1940.

Dr. Chorley's leadership in the Diocese of New York was notable: Historiographer of the Diocese, from 1915 until his death; Trustee of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine; Examining Chaplain; Trustee of the Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Children of Clergymen in the State of New York (a colonial foundation); Member of the Diocesan Social Service Commission; and a Deputy to the General Conventions of 1919, 1922, 1925, 1928, 1931, and 1934.

Dr. Chorley's service to the National Church began with his election in 1916 as a member of the Board of Managers of the Church Historical Society, of which he was the senior member in length of service at the time of his death.

The General Convention of 1919 elected Dr. Chorley as Historiographer of the Church. In this office he was a worthy successor to a line of distinguished predecessors. The first one to be elected with the title of Historiographer was Samuel Farmar Jarvis, 1838-1851; but more important was Francis

Lister Hawks, who in 1835 was elected as Conservator of Church Documents, and who had the title of Historiographer from 1851 to 1866. Hawks was succeeded by William Stevens Perry, 1868-1898, who was Bishop of Iowa, 1876-1898; and the latter in turn by Samuel Hart, 1898-1917.

In persuading the General Convention of 1931 to authorize the publication of HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, Dr. Chorley did more than start a quarterly periodical; he initiated a movement for the continuing study of Church History, and supplied a medium through which historical scholars are constantly encouraged to be productive.

In addition to his personal contributions to the pages of HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, which were many and valuable, his ripe scholarship found expression in the following published volumes:

History of St. Philip's Church in the Highlands, Garrison, New York (1912).

The Centennial of St. Thomas Parish, New York (1923).

The New American Prayer Book—Its History and Contents (1929).

The Centennial History of Saint Bartholomew's Church in the City of New York, 1835-1935 (1935).

Men and Movements in the American Episcopal Church (1946).
(The Hale Lectures at Seabury-Western Theological Seminary.)

Quarter of a Millennium: Trinity Church in the City of New York, 1697-1947 (1947).

In 1892, Dr. Chorley married Florence Dover, who predeceased him. Their son, Kenneth Chorley, LL.D., President of Colonial Williamsburg, Williamsburg, Virginia, survives them.

On November 2, 1949, Edward Clowes Chorley, at the age of eighty-four, departed this life, and on November 5, his body was laid to rest beside that of his wife in the Churchyard of St. Philip's-in-the-Highlands, Garrison, New York.

*Grant him, O Lord, eternal rest, and
May Light Perpetual shine upon him!*

**RESOLUTION OF GRATITUDE TO THE REVEREND EDWARD
CLOWES CHORLEY, D.D., HISTORIOGRAPHER OF THE CHURCH,
ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL CONVENTION OF 1949***

Whereas, The Reverend Edward Clowes Chorley, D.D., L.H.D., has served as Historiographer of this Church since the General Convention of 1919, or for a continuous period of thirty years; and,

Whereas, through his vision, initiative and leadership, the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE of this Church was founded by the authorization of the General Convention of 1931; and,

Whereas, Dr. Chorley has served as Editor-in-Chief of HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for eighteen years, eighteen volumes, of its publication, during which time it has gained a reputation among professional historians as maintaining a "standard fully equal that of any organization in America"; and,


Whereas, Dr. Chorley's own historical writing has been of an exceedingly high order, of which his *magnum opus*, *Men and Movements in the American Episcopal Church*, is invaluable, if not indispensable, to a thorough understanding of the genius, thought, and history of this Church; therefore,

Be it Resolved, the House of Bishops concurring, that this Fifty-Sixth General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America tenders to the Reverend Edward Clowes Chorley, D.D., L.H.D., its profound gratitude and heartfelt appreciation for his unique services to the Church, which have, among other things, quickened among both clergy and laity a sense of the importance of the history of this Church, and which have resulted in a greater understanding of its contribution to the life and history of the United States of America.

*This resolution was adopted unanimously by both Houses of the General Convention on the tenth day of the session, October 6, 1949. It was drafted by a specially appointed Joint Committee of the Convention, the members of which were: The Rt. Rev. John D. Wing, D.D., Bishop of South Florida; the Rt. Rev. Charles K. Gilbert, D.D., Bishop of New York; the Rev. Walter H. Stowe, S.T.D., of New Jersey; the Rev. Louis W. Pitt, D.D., of New York; Col. Jackson A. Dykman, D.C.L., of Long Island; and Spencer Ervin, Esq., of Pennsylvania.

THE FOUNDATION AND EARLY WORK OF THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY

By Phyllis Jane Wetherell*

N the 12th of April, 1799, twenty-five men met together in a London hotel and formed a missionary society.¹ The infant organization bore no settled name for six weeks, until the title, "The Society for Missions to Africa and the East," was adopted.² Gradually, because of its close affiliation with the Church of England, it came to be called the "Church" Missionary Society, a name under which thousands of men and women have labored to bring Christianity to obscure, uncared-for parts of the world.³ This year marks the 150th anniversary of this Society. On such a birthday we may well voice the appreciation of Christians everywhere for the achievements of her missionaries and home workers. The first years are full of pain and struggle for any humanitarian enterprise. Yet without them the advances of a powerful organization are never possible. From the early trials and successes of the Church Missionary Society we can derive example and profit.

The great missionary movement of the nineteenth century was the child of a union between those two remarkable eighteenth century forces, the Evangelical Revival and Humanitarianism. Together they released the energy that produced five strong new missionary organizations between 1790 and 1800. The Glasgow Missionary Society was one of these, as was the Scottish Missionary Society.⁴ In 1792, the Baptist Missionary Society was formed with the purpose of taking Christianity to India. In 1795, the London Missionary Society was organized in an effort to combine evangelical Christians of various denominations.⁵

*Dr. Wetherell is an instructor in history in Mills College, Oakland, California.—*Editor's note.*

¹Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society: its Men and its Work* (London, 1899, Vol. IV, 1916), I, p. 68.

²*Ibid.*, I, 71.

³This title was not officially adopted until 1812. The Church Missionary Society, *Church Missionary Atlas* (8th edition, London, 1896), p. xiii. The term "Society" throughout this paper refers to the Church Missionary Society.

⁴Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* (London and New York, 1937-1945), III, p. 50.

⁵C. M. S., *Atlas*, p. xiii.

Combining practical aid to mankind with the highest religious motives, these missionary societies were able to enlist interest from all classes in England. It was this philanthropic and religious zeal that brought about the formation of the Church Missionary Society.

The French Revolution clouded the domestic scene during the last decade of the eighteenth century, and it profoundly influenced the position of the Church of England. There was a general desire to stand by all that was stable and respectable in the national institutions, as a result of the alarming upheaval abroad. This feeling strengthened the Established Church. Yet government restraints and popular dread of innovations were great obstacles in the way of new plans for religious expansion. Innovations had led to revolution in France; so ran the reasoning. Despite the need for more missionary activity, cautious men would have chosen another time to inaugurate a new organization.

However, it was impossible for "serious Christians," or clergymen of the Evangelical school, to penetrate the older and temporarily somewhat sluggish Anglican organizations for missionary work.⁶ The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge was now 100 years old,⁷ and her special missionary adjunct, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, was just two years younger.⁸ Both were grown venerable and a little set in their ways. Despite the invaluable cooperation between all of these societies in succeeding years, there seemed at this time to be no place for young "enthusiasts" in the existing organization of the Church.

Anglican evangelicals could scarcely join the Baptist Society, and their opposition to membership in the London organization was based upon careful reasoning. It was recognized that simple evangelical preaching could be carried on in common by Christians divided upon church questions, but the non-denominational method was impractical when converts were gathered into communities. A native Christian community would either have to be linked with an existing body, or become a new independent sect, itself. The latter development would serve only to increase the number of distinct factions that already divided Christendom. The Church Missionary Society's centennial biographer, Eugene Stock, described the final decision in these words:

"With all their true love for the godly men outside the Church, and their large-hearted readiness to unite with them

⁶Stock, I, p. 66.

⁷See W. O. B. Allen and Edmund McClure, *Two Hundred Years: The History of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1698-1898* (London, 1898).

⁸See C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.* (London, 1901).

in every religious and philanthropic enterprise in which union did not compromise principle, . . . they nevertheless were . . . loyal members of the Church of England."⁹

In 1787, three men in India, Charles Grant and George Udney, civil officers of the East India Company, and David Brown, a chaplain at Calcutta, wrote home to England and asked for a mission to India.¹⁰ They petitioned for parliamentary action, which they did not get, but their proposals were sent to William Wilberforce, parliamentary champion of the anti-slave trade movement, and Charles Simeon, a young clergyman at Cambridge.¹¹ The interest of Simeon and Wilberforce was enlisted by these letters and they subsequently became officers in the missionary society whose labors were directed toward "Africa and the East."¹²

The Church Missionary Society was formed predominantly by Anglican clergymen, sixteen of the founding twenty-five being in orders.¹³ Its initial impetus came from the Eclectic Society, an organization of Evangelical enthusiasts which met to discuss issues of importance to the group. Over a period of time the Eclectics had considered the various possibilities of sending missionaries to the East Indies and Africa, to Australia and other regions of the Far East. The members had successfully petitioned Parliament for the right to send a chaplain with the first load of penal colonists to Botany Bay, and their meetings brought about the formation of the Church Missionary Society.¹⁴ One member, John Venn, was rector of Clapham, and leader of the Clapham Sect, a group of "serious Christians" who were represented in Parliament by Wilberforce. Venn, as chairman, formulated the new Society's plan of action at a meeting of the Eclectic Society on March 18, 1799. Its members, he said, should follow God's lead and careful of the type of men sent out: they should have heaven in their hearts and tread the world under their feet. But also, Venn declared, the Society should start on a small scale; it ought not to begin by collecting money.¹⁵

The Church Missionary Society elected officers and appointed a

⁹Stock, I, p. 64.

¹⁰C. M. S., *Atlas*, p. xiii.

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²Stock, I, pp. 69, 70. It is interesting to observe that William Wilberforce, a layman, was asked to be the first president of the Society. He declined.

¹³*Ibid.*, I, p. 68.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, I, pp. 60, 61.

¹⁵It was at this meeting that Venn urged his fellow members to send out laymen if clergymen could not be found. This principle subsequently aroused much opposition. [Stock, I, p. 63.]

representative committee of twenty-four London members.¹⁶ Of the thirteen churchmen included in this group, only four were beneficed, the others were curates or lecturers. Four of the lay members were merchants. All came from the commercial and professional middle class.¹⁷ It was this group that faced the fruitless first years of their Society's history.

The Society early published a record of its activities, printing it at first under the title, *Proceedings of the Society for Missions to Africa and the East*.¹⁸ The first volume of this record contained an account, dated 1801, of the Society, its purpose in organizing and its proposed future. In this paper were praise and proper recognition for the work of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.¹⁹ The new organization explained its principal objective while discussing the scope of the S. P. G.:

. . . It is evident however, that although they have not been backward, wherever a proper opportunity has occurred, to instruct their Missionaries to embrace it, by preaching amongst the neighbouring Heathen; yet the primary and direct object of this Society, has been rather the religious benefit of the British Colonists, and those Heathens immediately dependent upon them, than the conversion of the Heathen in general.

¹⁶Item VI of the Rules of the Society reads, in part:

"A General Committee shall be appointed to superintend the affairs of the Society, consisting of the Governors [seven in number] Treasurer and also twenty-four other Members (of whom not less than twelve shall be Ministers of the Established Church) elected by ballot." [*Proceedings of the Society for Missions to Africa and the East*, I (London, 1801-1805), p. 2.]

¹⁷Stock, I, p. 70. The list included:

John Bacon, R. A., Sculptor	J. Jowett, Skinner
J. Brasier, Merchant	Ambrose Martin, Banker
W. Cardale, Solicitor	J. Pearson, Surgeon
N. Dawner, Merchant	H. Stokes, Merchant
E. Elliott, Upholsterer	E. Venn, Tea-broker
W. Wilson, Silk-merchant	

¹⁸The *Proceedings* were published yearly in pamphlet form and sold for two shillings. They contained usually a sermon delivered at the annual meeting of the Society, and the report of the General Committee, which recounted the accomplishments of the organization and its future plans. Every few years these publications were bound and printed by volume. Published in London, Volume I, *Proceedings of the Society for Missions to Africa and the East*, incorporated the years 1801-1805. Volume II, under the altered title, *Proceedings of the Missionary Society for Africa and the East*, included the years 1806-1809. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the Society began printing its reports separately, under the title, *Annual Report of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East*. These documents will be cited hereafter as *Proceedings of Society*, *Proceedings of C. M. S.*, and *Annual Report*.

¹⁹*Proceedings of Society*, I, pp. 6, 7.

Room, therefore, is still left for the institution of a Society, which shall consider the Heathen as its principal care.²⁰

The American Revolution did not destroy the British Empire, but reduced the percentage of people of European origin. During the French Revolution, the British penetration of India went on rapidly and major expansion into Africa was not far in the future. The vast increase of contact with native peoples was a challenge to the Christian in Great Britain. Should not the missionary march side by side with the trader and the empire builder?

The S. P. G. and the S. P. C. K. believed that no Church enterprise ought to be undertaken by individual clergymen, without the leadership and direction of the bishops. They were also inclined to assume that any man in accepted orders was automatically fitted to become a missionary.²¹ The Evangelicals planned instead to emphasize the importance of individual Christians, not necessarily churchmen, in the missionary field:

. . . It is evident . . . that a Missionary, dwelling amongst savages rude and illiterate, does not require the same kind of talents, manners, or learning, as are necessary in an officiating minister in England . . . To obviate this difficulty . . . the conductors of the present Institution have recourse to the expedient, of sending their Missionaries in the capacity of *Catechists* only; where persons already in holy orders do not offer themselves, or circumstances do not justify an application for regular ordination.²²

The Committee had no desire to branch off into the work of conversion without the sanction of the mother institution. Therefore, at the first meeting a resolution was adopted whose purpose was to excite the approval of the episcopal order. It was resolved,

That a Deputation be sent from this Society to the Archbishop of Canterbury as Metropolitan, the Bishop of London as Diocesan, and the Bishop of Durham as Chairman of the Mission Committee of the Society for the Promoting Christian Knowledge, with a copy of the Rules of the Society and a respectful letter.²³

William Wilberforce, into whose hands the responsibility for communicating with the archbishop was placed, was unable to give the Society

²⁰*Ibid.*, I, p. 7.

²¹Stock, I, p. 65.

²²*Proceedings of Society*, I, pp. 8, 9.

²³Stock, I, p. 69.

any concrete encouragement until after almost a year's delay. He then informed the Committee that the archbishop "acquiesced in the hope I expressed, that the Society might go forward."²⁴ The Committee then began work.

The three immediate needs of the Church Missionary Society were men, money and fields of labor.²⁵ In accord with Venn's plan, the Committee hoped to find candidates for missionary work who were peculiarly suited to that exacting life. Those members responsible for missionary selections looked to find men who combined fervent zeal with discretion and knowledge. They were to be "... such as have themselves experienced the benefits of the Gospel, and, therefore, earnestly desire to make known to their perishing fellow sinners, the grace and power of a Redeemer, and the inestimable blessings of his salvation."²⁶ It was agreed that, as communicants of the Church of England, the Society's members should hold the doctrinal articles of that body as the standard of the faith which they would endeavor to introduce among the heathen.²⁷

The gravest problem that faced the Church Missionary Society in the first years of its organization was not want of money, as might be supposed, but an almost complete absence of the desired missionary material. Plans to operate in West Africa, Ceylon, China, Tartary, and Persia, suffered from the inertia of the right kind of Englishmen. The Committee issued pleas and reproaches.

The Sierra Leone company, [they reported], has been for five years enquiring in vain for a pious and zealous minister of the established church to be chaplain to that colony . . . Your Committee cannot but here acknowledge and lament the evident want of that holy zeal, which animated the apostles and primitive Christians.²⁸

²⁴Stock, I, p. 72. Although doing its best to conciliate the older societies, the C. M. S. was unable to gain the outspoken approval of the S. P. G. and the S. P. C. K. for many years. By the 1820s, only two bishops had joined the C. M. S. However, in 1842, through the efforts of Bishop Blomfield of London, Lord Chichester, president of the C. M. S., and Henry Venn, the Society amended its laws slightly, and soon after could count a total of thirty bishops and both archbishops in its membership. [Stock, I, pp. 150, 389-395.]

²⁵Stock, I, p. 73.

²⁶*Proceedings of Society*, I, p. 12.

²⁷*Ibid.* The Society has not formulated its doctrinal views or distinctive principles. The only qualification for membership in the Society has been membership in the Church of England or the Church of Ireland. But because the Society's founders were of the Evangelical school in the Church, the Society has always been identified with their views. As applied to missions, these views are briefly: (a) Mankind are a fallen and lost race; (b) God commandeth all men everywhere to repent; (c) there is salvation through Christ for every one that believeth; (d) faith is given and Christ revealed to the soul, by the Holy Ghost alone; (e) this Gospel must be proclaimed by those who have received it themselves. [C. M. S. *Atlas*, p. xiii.]

²⁸Report of the Committee, June 8, 1802, in *Proceedings of Society*, I, p. 139.

For four years there were no men. Lacking missionaries, the Society turned to the press and laid plans that bore little fruit to publish a version of the New Testament in Persian. A passing thought occurred to some friends of the Society: it might be possible to enlighten the Greek Church and ransom Circassian slaves in the Russian territories near the Caspian Sea and teach them Christianity. The Committee did not take kindly to these proposals.²⁹

The original plan to send out catechists was not successful, and the first English candidate of the Society was Henry Martyn, a young Anglican priest, newly ordained in 1803. Martyn may not be called the first missionary of the Society, because he felt called to India and could find passage there in an East India Company ship only as a Company's chaplain. The Society agreed to this condition, feeling that the need for Christianity in India justified a compromise.³⁰

The Committee was forced at last to give up hope of finding English missionaries for their first posts. They turned instead to Germany:

Your Committee not obtaining Missionaries in England, have extended their enquiries to Germany. They have thus followed the steps of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, whose Missionaries to India have been principally procured from foreign countries. With this view they have entered into a correspondence with some foreign ministers, who have with much readiness and zeal instituted enquiries concerning the probability of obtaining from abroad proper persons to be Missionaries or Catechists.³¹

In 1800, the Lutheran pastor, Johann Jänicke of Berlin, had founded a school for the training of missionaries.³² Jänicke had received much of his inspiration for the school from the missionary activity in England, and funds for its support came from England as well as from parts of Germany. The men whom Jänicke prepared were primarily Germans, but most of them served under the London Missionary Society, the Church Missionary Society, and the Netherlands Missionary Society.³³ The first two employed by the Church Missionary Society were accepted as "missionary catechists" for West Africa. They were Melchior Renner, of Würtemberg, and Peter Hartwig, of Prussia. Renner was about thirty years of age, while Hartwig was only twenty-four,

²⁹Stock, I, p. 74.

³⁰*Ibid.*, I, p. 81.

³¹Report of the Committee, June 8, 1802, in *Proceedings of Society*, I, pp. 139, 140.

³²*Ibid.*, I, pp. 140, 141.

³³Latourette, IV, p. 90.

but "their mutual attachment, and yet varied dispositions, peculiarly qualify them for acting in concert."³⁴

When the two men arrived in England, their introduction to the Society was somewhat marred by the fact that neither they nor the Committee could make themselves understood. The Committee solved this problem by summoning an interpreter, but the candidates were required to spend a short time in the country studying English.³⁵ It was also arranged for them to return to Germany for Lutheran ordination before their departure to Sierra Leone. In this way the "catechist" title, an issue of some delicacy, was avoided. All of the members readily recognized Lutheran orders.³⁶ Renner and Hartwig reached Sierra Leone in 1804, after a comparatively easy voyage.³⁷ Of the one hundred missionaries sent out in the Society's first twenty-five years, nearly half were German.³⁸

It has been the practice of the Church Missionary Society to open missions in areas which seem most desperately to need such help, and to maintain them as long as the need continues, provided there are funds available. Whenever their missionary activities have overlapped those of another organization and duplicated the work of others, the Church Missionary Society has withdrawn. Following this policy, new missions were opened in as rapid succession as money and men could be found to operate them. After initial provision for West Africa, Australia and New Zealand received missionaries in 1809. In 1814, men were sent to India, in 1818 to Ceylon. In 1822 a special attempt was made to reach the "Red Indians" of British North America, and in succeeding years stations were established and maintained in the West Indies, East Africa, China, Palestine, the Mauritius Islands, British Columbia, Japan and Persia.³⁹ Once settled, missions to these places were increased in staff and expanded as rapidly as their progress warranted. In accord also with their policy, the Society withdrew from the West Indies in 1848.⁴⁰ A mission opened at Aden was closed to avoid unnecessary duplication of what the Church of Scotland was doing there.⁴¹ In 1920, the Society withdrew from British North America, transferring its enterprises to the missionary arm of the Church of England in Canada.⁴²

³⁴Report of the Committee, May 31, 1803, in *Proceedings of Society*, I, p. 221.

³⁵Stock, I, p. 83.

³⁶*Ibid.*

³⁷*Ibid.*, I, p. 86.

³⁸C. M. S., *Atlas*, xiv.

³⁹*Ibid.*

⁴⁰*Latourette*, V, p. 52.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, VI, p. 60.

⁴²*Ibid.*, V, p. 17.

The work that began modestly with that of two missionaries in West Africa expanded to amazing proportions in the first fifty years of its life, and the second fifty presented a continuous story of growth. It is impossible to look at such facts without feeling curiosity concerning the financial support of these undertakings. So vast an organization needs a great deal of working capital in order to initiate and maintain its widely dispersed activities.

Fortunately, from its inception, the Church Missionary Society had wealthy and influential friends. Funds were originally raised on a basis of donation and subscription. Any Anglican could acquire membership in the organization by subscribing one guinea a year. The clergy were allowed to become members on payment of half a guinea annually. Life membership accompanied a benefaction of twenty guineas.⁴³ Two such benefactors, Ambrose Martin, a banker, and the Danish consul-general, contributed £100 each at the first meeting of the Society.⁴⁴ The "Account of the Society," 1801, touched briefly upon the subject of donations:

It remains now, only to solicit the assistance of all those, who have the glory of God and the good of their fellow creatures at heart, for the furtherance of this useful design. Wide is the field, which lies before this Society; great is the importance of their object.⁴⁵

John Venn's suggestion that the Society avoid collecting money at the outset, was apparently followed. The members of the Society did not ask for "the pecuniary aid of those who already, to the extent of their power, contribute to the support of other similar institutions . . . What we ask of them is their counsel, their good wishes, their prayers . . . The world is an extensive field, and in the Church of Christ there is no Competition of interests."⁴⁶ It was expected that parishes throughout England would send what they could afford to aid in the great design. Yet during its first few years, the Society was to some extent disappointed in these expectations. The continental wars, and poverty caused by a failure to adjust the balance between new industry and an old floating population, made many country parishes unable to contribute.⁴⁷ However, private gifts rendered the early period financially successful.

Between April, 1799, and May, 1801, the sums received by the

⁴³Rules of the Society, in *Proceedings of Society*, I, p. 15.

⁴⁴Stock, I, p. 74.

⁴⁵*Proceedings of Society*, I, p. 12.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, I, pp. 12, 13.

⁴⁷Stock, I, p. 74.

Society from annual subscriptions was £177, while donations increased the total income to £911.⁴⁸ On the first published contribution list were the names of several eminent persons, among whom were William Wilberforce, who gave £50, and three members of the Thornton family, Samuel, Robert, and Henry, each of whom was a member of Parliament, and each of whom gave £52, 10s.⁴⁹ For "Printing, Stationery, Books, &c.," £95 was spent in the first two years, leaving a balance of over £800.⁵⁰ This prosperity was caused by the regrettable circumstance that the Society had not yet been able to found a mission upon which to spend its money.

By 1809 the picture was different, but still bright. By this time, a decade after the founding of the organization, much of the Society's income was supplied by congregational collections throughout the year. During the ten years, clergymen from eighty different parish churches and chapels sent in the receipts from as many as five and six separate special collections for the Society.⁵¹ Over £800 was derived from this source in the year 1808-09, only a little less than was pledged by subscription. £379 came from donations, much less than the original burst of enthusiasm had called forth in 1801.⁵² The total income for the twelve-month period, including a £426 balance carried over from the preceding year, amounted to £3,475. From this sum the following expenses were paid:

	£	s	d
On account of the African Mission.	991	14	9
On account of the Missionary Seminary	240	4	3 1/2
On account of the New Zealand Settlement	106	6	6
The Rev. John Joenicke, Berlin: sundry Disbursements on account of the Missionaries late under his Care	55	0	0
For Stationary, Printing, and Books	205	4	3
Incidental Expenses, viz. Secretary's and Deputy Secretary's Salaries, Advertisements, Use of Tavern for General Meeting, Translating, Collector's			

⁴⁸State of the Society's Fund, in *Proceedings of Society*, I, p. 111.

⁴⁹Benefactors, in *Proceedings of Society*, I, p. 109.

⁵⁰State of the Society's Fund, in *Proceedings of Society*, I, p. 111.

⁵¹List of Collections, Benefactions and Subscriptions, May 23, 1809, in *Proceedings of C. M. S.*, II (1806-1809), pp. 517-522.

⁵²State of the Society's Fund, March, 1809, in *Proceedings of C. M. S.*, II, p. 548.

Allowance, Stamps, Postage, Carriage, Portage, Etc....	239	2	0
For India Bonds	707	19	6
For Exchequer Bills	610	10	0

The total expenses for the year, therefore, were £3,156, leaving a balance of £319. A grant of £500 was to be sent to the Corresponding committee in India for the purpose of translating the Scriptures into the Oriental languages. It had not yet been paid when this accounting took place, and was to be listed against the following year's receipts.⁵³

Investments of the preceding years' unused income had already begun to show itself in interest and money derived from the sale of bonds. The auditors of the account in 1809 found "a Balance of £319 17s, 4 1/2 d due to the Society . . . and likewise £4,000, 3 per Cent Consolidated Annuities, and £1,400 Exchequer Bills, in the Hands of the Treasurer."⁵⁴

In 1812, new plans to raise funds were formulated. The Rev. Josiah Pratt, second secretary to the Society, instituted Church Missionary Associations in town and country, and in colonies throughout the empire. The object of these Associations was to encourage penny-a-week regular subscriptions from young and old, rich and poor.⁵⁵ As a result, in 1813-1814, £13,200 arrived to supply the Society's needs. In 1819-1820, the total income reached £30,000.⁵⁶

This happy state was not destined to continue indefinitely. The expenses of the Society increased enormously with its expansion. There was a serious crisis in 1841-1842, when the total expenditures outran contributions,⁵⁷ but in 1843, £115,000, the largest income ever received up to that time by any religious society, poured in.⁵⁸ Other periods of financial stress have caused the Society embarrassment and have resulted in fruitless efforts at retrenchment. In 1947-1948, the total cash receipts for the year were £558,280, but expenses are still exceeding income. Yet the Word of God has continued to search for non-Christians, through the efforts of the Society's missionaries, despite all temporary obstacles.⁵⁹

⁵³State of the Society's Fund, March, 1809, in *Proceedings of C. M. S.*, II, p. 548.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*

⁵⁵Stock, I, p. 129.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, I, p. 476.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, I, p. 482.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, I, p. 485.

⁵⁹The economic aftermath of World War II threatens the existence of much of the work, but the Society, having faith in the infinite resources of God and the continued support of friends all over the world, is planning ahead: "They have . . . drawn up plans for the re-grouping of Society's resources, that they may be concentrated at strategic points, rather than spread too widely and too thinly." [*Annual Reports*, 1947-1948, p. 58.]

In order to further the general purpose of the Society and extend the blessings of Christianity to the non-Christian world, the Society undertook a great variety of activities. Before any mission was established a number of plans had been adopted. The Rev. Thomas Scott, chaplain of the Lock Hospital, delivered a sermon before the assembled members of the Society in which he outlined some activities in process and proposed:

It will appear, also that various attempts are either actually making or in contemplation, for translating the Scriptures, or parts of them, or short compendiums of Christianity, into the languages of the heathen, in order to circulate them in several countries; as preparatory to missions; and in other ways to render the press subservient to the grand design.⁶⁰

The close alliance between the personal work of missionaries and the less apparent but effective influence of vernacular publications was an important aspect of the Society's method from the beginning. In order to reach illiterate persons through the press, it was first necessary to teach them to read and thereby to give them access to some basic fields of knowledge. In addition:

For the benefit of nations, whose language has not yet been reduced to writing, they [the Society] propose, as a measure introductory to the diffusion of Christianity, to print spelling books and other elementary works, by means of which the progress of knowledge in their own language may be promoted.⁶¹

In 1802, the Committee reported "with much satisfaction" what the Rev. Mr. Brunton, employed by the Society to print desired works, had accomplished. Under him the Society's press had printed: (1) 200 copies of a grammar and vocabulary in the Susoo language; (2) 1,000 copies of a spelling book for the instruction of the Susoos, with a translation of the Church catechism; (3) 500 copies of an easy first catechism in Susoo and English; (4) 500 copies of a second catechism; (5) 500 copies of a third or advanced catechism; (6) 500 copies of three dialogues: the first intended to point out the advantages of literacy, the second "to expose the absurdities of the Religious notions of the Susoos," and the third to draw a comparison between the religion of Mohammed and that of Christ. An appendix containing information about the countries near Sierra Leone, which would be useful to missionaries, was appended to these dialogues; (7) 1,000 copies

⁶⁰*Proceedings of Society*, I, p. 73.

⁶¹Report of the Committee, May 26, 1801, in *Proceedings of Society*, I, p. 80.

of "Christian Instruction for the Susoos," an abridgment of Scripture history and doctrine.⁶² The Committee recognized the fact that, "Books can teach, where Missionaries are not admitted; . . . Books may supply, in a measure, the place of Missionaries . . ."⁶³

The Society established schools to train native teachers and missionaries:

It is also purposed to educate native Africans, and to instruct them carefully in our holy religion, or order at length to employ them as Schoolmasters, among their countrymen . . . it is hoped, that gratuitous instruction of this kind will open a way for the gospel among them; and that African Schoolmasters may concur with British Missionaries, and become perhaps Missionaries themselves in process of time.⁶⁴

Through these two channels, books and schools, the Society planned to prepare the ground for the conversion of natives to Christianity. But while books did occasionally have to take the place of a missionary, and schools were many times established before a mission station could be set up,⁶⁵ the truly heroic work of the Society was performed by the missionaries themselves, who went out to spend their lives in remote sections of the world. We have considered the initial step, that of sending men out to the mission fields. Of their purposes and hardships and accomplishments, something more must be said.

By 1804 the Society was able to look forward to a better supply of missionaries than had been possible up to that time. With the prospect of being able to secure both German Lutherans and some men from among the clergy of their own Church, the Society issued a plea for additional support. "They have now a well founded expectation of usefully employing whatever funds the exertions and liberality of their Christian friends may entrust to their disposal."⁶⁶

⁶²Report of the Committee, June 8, 1802, in *Proceedings of Society*, I, pp. 142, 143.

⁶³Report of the Committee, May 26, 1801, in *Proceedings of Society*, I, p. 81.

⁶⁴*Proceedings of Society*, I, p. 73.

⁶⁵In Burdwan, an important town not far from Calcutta, several small schools were started by a Christian officer stationed there. The officer, Captain Stewart, was in communication with the Society, and his schools were supplied with funds by that organization. Following a pattern that was proving successful elsewhere, Stewart did not attempt to teach Christianity. He only tried to awaken a desire for knowledge, "as a road by which the Gospel should afterwards travel." Because his scholars could not come and go each day to school, Stewart provided board and lodging for the week, thus setting the stage for a mission boarding school. When the missionary arrived a year later, Christian Scriptures were introduced into the most advanced school, and in 1822, within three years of their founding, the missionary reported, "The Gospels are now read in *all the schools*. Who could have expected, a year ago, to see a thousand Hindu children reading the Gospel?" [Stock, I, p. 195.]

⁶⁶*Proceedings of Society*, I, pp. 332, 333.

The first missions suffered from lack of experience, and the news returned to the Committee was not always hopeful. Both Renner and Hartwig, of the first mission, were subject to tropical fever contracted during the rainy season in Sierra Leone.⁶⁷ Renner was able to continue his duties, which consisted of acting as chaplain to the colony settlement at Freetown,⁶⁸ while plans were made to set up a central missionary station in a native village. Hartwig, however, was very ill at first, and unable to render much assistance to Renner for some months.⁶⁹

It was part of the Society's policy from the beginning to encourage missionaries to take their families and make their homes in the new stations that were founded. In 1804, the Committee reported to the other members that,

"A few weeks after the return of the missionaries [Renner and Hartwig] from Germany, the younger of them, Mr. Hartwig, was married to an English woman, with the approbation of the Committee. Various circumstances inclined your Committee to believe, that they ought not to oppose this union, though it would necessarily subject the Society . . . to an increased expenditure . . . they have reason to hope that this circumstance also will contribute to the furtherance of the Society's designs in the instruction of the benighted Africans."⁷⁰

Mrs. Hartwig, too, contracted the fever, and in the first months of their stay neither she nor her husband dared to venture inland away from the coastal climate. Hartwig's wife devoted much of her life to helping advance the Society's plans.⁷¹ In subsequent years the greatest contribution made by women to the missionary work abroad was that performed by wives and sisters of the men sent out.

In West Africa the Society intended to follow the pattern successfully established by the United Brethren in their missionary work. They directed the first missionaries to locate a settlement of a few white men and women, from which individual missionaries might make experimental trips to surrounding native villages.⁷² Hartwig, as he began to recover his health, made an exploratory excursion north of the colony, and returned with a clear picture of the circumstances under which he and his colleagues would work:

⁶⁷Report of the Committee, June 4, 1805, in *Proceedings of Society*, I, p. 435.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, p. 434.

⁶⁹Report of the Committee, May 27, 1806, in *Proceedings of C. M. S.*, II, p. 51.

⁷⁰Report of the Committee, May 22, 1804, in *Proceedings of Society*, I, p. 316.

⁷¹Stock, I, p. 88.

⁷²Report of the Committee, June 4, 1805, in *Proceedings of Society*, I, pp. 437, 438.

The many slave factories in the Susoo country on the coast form the chief obstacle to a Mission. The influence, which the traders have over the Susoos, is greater than can be well imagined: and very great is the gain, which that nation obtains in mere indolence, from the traders.⁷³

It was the slave trader who had introduced alien vices to the natives of Western Africa. Hartwig wrote, "Swearing and cursing is an unknown thing to a Susoo man, so far as I could learn. Whenever I heard the Susoos swear or curse, it was in English."⁷⁴ Among the other problems facing the missionaries in Sierra Leone was the prevalence of leopards, and a nomadic people, known as Foulahs, whose practices were described as "venomous." "I do not doubt, but any one of these wandering people would not make the least hesitation to kill a person, for even a little property, if he could get it in no other way," wrote the missionary.⁷⁵

Three more missionaries were sent to West Africa in 1806, but they suffered great hardship in reaching their destination. Their captain forgot them and weighed anchor, leaving them behind in Falmouth. In an open boat they pursued the ship, unsuccessfully, and were forced to return to Falmouth after many hours of struggle with stormy seas. Fortunately, their ship also was forced back into harbor by the gale, and they again embarked. After danger of capture by a French privateer, and delay caused by the death of their captain, they finally reached their destination.⁷⁶

Of these first five men, three were excellent, faithful workers, and gave long service to the Society's West African mission. Renner remained at his post for seventeen years. The fourth missionary lived only two years after landing in Sierra Leone, just one example of the toll taken by tropical climate.⁷⁷

The Society quickly learned the disappointments that spring from the weakness of mankind. Most of their missionaries, like Renner, were earnest, godly men who spent many profitable years working in the field, but occasionally one failed entirely to live up to the demands of his chosen profession. Young Hartwig, who had started out so readily with his wife, was one of the failures. He engaged in the slave-trade, which his early journals had so bitterly condemned, and in other ways destroyed the confidence of the Society in him. After his wife

⁷³Report of the Committee, May 27, 1806, Appendix I, "Extracts from the Journal of the Reverend Peter Hartwig in the Rio Pongas," in *Proceedings of C. M. S.*, II, p. 63.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, II, p. 65.

⁷⁶Stock, I, p. 86.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, I, p. 88.

had left him, and he had for several years paid no attention to the missionary work, he wrote the Committee, acknowledging his sin and asking for reinstatement. The Committee could not accept him again, after his faithless activities, but gladly employed him on trial as an interpreter and translator. His wife returned to help him, but both of them died very shortly thereafter.⁷⁸

The struggle in England to defeat the slave trade delayed the development of the Sierra Leone mission. But when, in 1807, the trade was at last abolished,⁷⁹ real advances were made. Schools were opened, production for sale was encouraged, and the people were helped to engage in agriculture and commerce. Especially in the spread of Christianity, progress was seen. Missionary settlements were at last established on the Rio Pongas, and a few natives began to place their children under the care of the missionaries:

In August, a respectable chief, Mongè Hate, residing about five miles from the north bank of the Rio Pongas, committed his eldest son, a youth of about 14 years of age, to the care of the Missionaries; and promised to entrust to them all his other sons, of which he had many . . . They received also three other children under their care . . .⁸⁰

In 1809, the Committee reported that over 160 adults and children had been baptized, while forty boys and seven adults were under instruction in the mission school.⁸¹

The missions in Africa looked hopeful from the beginning, despite obstacles, and new men were in demand to open further missions. The Society decided, in order to avoid loss of funds and time through sending out unworthy men, that none should go who had not received at least a part of their training under the guidance of the Society. The first seminary in England was set up under the direction of William Dawes, who had twice been governor of Sierra Leone, and knew something of the Susoo language, as well as of Hindustani, Persian, and Arabic.⁸² The Committee reported:

"From his acquaintance with Africa, those of the students who may be designed for that quarter will have the advantage of much information, before they enter on the service of the Mission. Several neighbouring Clergymen, members of this

⁷⁸Stock, I, p. 88.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, I, p. 94.

⁸⁰Report of the Committee, May 23, 1809, in *Proceedings of C. M. S.*, II, pp. 468, 469.

⁸¹*Ibid.*, II, pp. 478, 479.

⁸²Stock, I, p. 88.

Society, have kindly engaged to contribute their aid towards preparing the students for their work."⁸³

Dawes withdrew from this project after a short time, and his place was taken by Thomas Scott, long a serious worker for the Society, and its first secretary. Scott continued this work until his health began to fail in 1815. Under him the men did well and he set them so admirable an example that they readily undertook very difficult projects. Not long after Scott assumed control, he was asked to instruct the candidates in both Susoo and Arabic. Even though he knew nothing of either tongue, and was over sixty years of age when he might have expected not to have to embark upon such novel learning, Scott and his pupils with him set about studying works in both languages, published by the Society. In a few months he and his students were reading the *Koran*.⁸⁴

While Scott was engaged in training additional missionaries, most of whom were still German Lutherans, the Committee sent two men out to New Zealand, not as missionaries but as "lay settlers." These men, both Englishmen, were Christian artisans, who were engaged to go to New Zealand to help introduce industry and civilization there. Through them the Gospel was to be introduced, as well. One of these men was a joiner, William Hall, and the other, John King, was a shoemaker.⁸⁵

The Society chose New Zealand because it was within ten days' sail of Port Jackson, in New South Wales:

"One of the chiefs is well known at Port Jackson; is himself strongly attached to English improvement and civilization; and would yield . . . every possible protection and support to an Establishment of English men under his authority . . . The attention of Government has been recently turned towards these islands, in the hope of obtaining naval supplies; and there is little doubt, but that both the Government at home and the Authorities at New South Wales would protect and assist any establishment, formed at New Zealand in connection with the Church of England."⁸⁶

From New South Wales the project received both initial encouragement and sustained support. Samuel Marsden, senior chaplain of the colony, was deeply interested in the Maoris of New Zealand. His in-

⁸³Report of the Committee, May 19, 1807, in *Proceedings of C. M. S.*, II, p. 197.

⁸⁴Stock, I, p. 89.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*

⁸⁶Report of the Committee, June 7, 1808, in *Proceedings of C. M. S.*, II, pp. 335, 336.

terest led him to ask for the mission there, and to work for its success.⁸⁷ Under his direction, three men were sent out by the Society, the two named above sailing in 1809, and Thomas Kendall, a schoolmaster, following shortly thereafter.⁸⁸ These men received instruction as to the regulation of their lives, both "religious and civil." They were to keep the Sabbath carefully, to perform family worship regularly and openly, reading Scriptures or singing loudly so that passing natives might hear. They were to talk with the Maoris about sin and salvation "when employed in planting potatoes, sowing corn, or in any other occupation." They were to gather the children together for instruction, and through them to try to reach their parents. The instructions regarding their civil behavior were equally direct. They were to keep busy. They were to become independent as soon as possible by growing their own food and keeping their own livestock. They were to give and receive no presents, make and send their handcrafts to Port Jackson as a good example, and to stay out of the native wars.⁸⁹

These men were sent out as part of a remarkably courageous plan. In 1809, New Zealand was almost a year's sailing distance from England. Conditions there were strange, and communications unreliable. In spite of the optimistic report concerning government aid, there was no real certainty that such aid would or could be given in time, if an emergency occurred. In view of these circumstances, the Society at home waited anxiously for news of the mission. Six and one-half years passed before they received word that a mission had even been begun.⁹⁰ This first settlement was established at a native village on the northwest side of the Bay of Islands, where Christianity has ever since remained.⁹¹

The first years were full of difficulty. Not only were the settlers far from supplies at a time when the Society was somewhat low in funds, but they had difficulty in learning the language, and were greatly embarrassed by the superstitions of the Maoris. The missionaries who came soon after the first contingent not infrequently broke in upon some of the superstitious observances, and were unable to explain that it was done accidentally.⁹² They were constantly in danger. Savagery was all around them. The settlers and their families were robbed, and were often warned that they would be killed before morning.⁹³ In addition,

⁸⁷William Yate, *An Account of New Zealand and of the Formation and Progress of the C. M. S. Mission in the Northern Island* (2nd. edition, London, 1835), p. 167. Yate was an ordained missionary of the C. M. S., stationed in New Zealand.

⁸⁸Stock, I, p. 206.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, I, pp. 206, 207.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, I, p. 208.

⁹¹Yate, p. 168.

⁹²*Ibid.*, pp. 168, 169.

⁹³*Ibid.*, p. 170.

members of the missionaries' own band again disappointed the Society; the schoolmaster Kendall, who had been admitted to holy orders, encouraged the traffic of guns and ammunition to the natives. He wrote, "The propriety and practice of selling muskets and powder to the natives of New Zealand in preference to savage weapons can only be supported and justified."⁹⁴ Kendall was dismissed from the Society's rolls as soon as his position on this issue was discovered.⁹⁵

Yet, the work of the mission progressed in defiance of these setbacks both from within and without the Society's organization. By 1823, thirteen men had gone out from England and a number had been added from New South Wales.⁹⁶ In 1825, after years of labor, the first native, a chief named Rangī, was baptized.⁹⁷ He was the first of many, but the great period of New Zealand development had still to wait for a number of years.

Although only the missionary settlements in West Africa and New Zealand have been described in any detail in these pages, similar starts, with heartbreaks and encouragement for company, were made on a large scale in India and Ceylon, Australia, the West Indies, Malta and the Near East. Much progress was made during these early years.

In India, the East India Company strenuously resisted missionary work between the years 1793 and 1813. Throughout that period, five company chaplains, all friends or protégés of Charles Simeon, kept Christianity alive in that area. When, in 1813, the Company's charter came up for renewal in Parliament. Wilberforce was able to get a resolution passed in the House of Commons that legally opened the doors of India to missionary societies. In the three years from the renewal of the charter to 1816, the Church Missionary Society sent out seven missionaries: two to Madras, two to Bengal, and three to Travancore. It entered the northwest provinces in those years as well, and occupied Bombay and Tinnevely in 1820.⁹⁸ From Benares, in 1848, the Rev. C. B. Leupolt wrote:

⁹⁴"The Kendall Correspondence, 1821-1822," in John Rawson Elder, ed., *Marsden Lieutenants* (Dunedin, 1934), p. 185.

⁹⁵Stock, I, p. 212.

Kendall had rendered valuable service to the Society before engaging in this activity which so directly opposed its policy. In August, 1816, the first school was opened in New Zealand with thirty-three pupils. In less than a year the attendance has jumped to seventy. Kendall wrote: "The weather being generally fair and pleasant during the present month [October], and the natives of Rangee Hoo busy in preparing the grounds for the purpose of planting sweet potatoes, many scholars have been occasionally absent. We have been also under the necessity of following several of our pupils into the bush, where we have taught them their lessons." [Elder, p. 128.]

⁹⁶Stock, I, p. 212.

⁹⁷*Ibid.*, I, p. 215.

⁹⁸C. M. S., *Atlas*, pp. 97-99.

"Our large School and College in the city is going on well. This noble Institution numbers above 300 boys . . . Our Orphan Institution has also advanced a step nearer the end we proposed to ourselves at the beginning . . . Some of these lads, we have every reason to believe are truly pious."⁹⁹

By 1849, the bishop of Calcutta could report that the Church Missionary Society College in India numbered seventy scholars:

"The oldest youth in the college is between seventeen and eighteen years of age. The seventy students are all boarders, and retain, in every respect, their native habits of dress and food."¹⁰⁰

An intricate system of correspondence centering in London integrated the work of broadcast printed matter, mission stations, native schools, teachers, hospitals and home contributors.¹⁰¹ Their combined efforts enabled the Church Missionary Society to grow rapidly and sturdily throughout the nineteenth century, expanding its field of operations every few years.

The last decade of the nineteenth century did not witness a recession of interest in the world-wide and international missionary work. Together with the other missionary organizations, the Church Missionary Society surged forward and continued to expand. Missions were sent out to the Mohammedans in Palestine and Persia, although the conversion rate was notably slow amongst adherents of this faith.

By the turn of the century, Sierra Leone was an organized and self-supporting native African Church with thousands of members, taking no money from the Church Missionary Society. In the hinterland were Negro congregations and Negro evangelists and English men and women engaged in pioneer service. Four bishops—two white and two Negro—were there, and the Society's secretary remarked, "We gladly observe that other missions, British and American and German, are also at work."¹⁰² Mombasa and Usagara were flourishing Society fields, and thousands of Christians were to be found in Uganda, the heart of the continent. At Cairo the Society was active, and it was particularly proud of its work in India, although nearly every other missionary organization was also busy there.

⁹⁹*Church Missionary Intelligencer*, I (May, 1849), pp. 10, 11.

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*, I (June, 1849), p. 45.

¹⁰¹Rules of the Society: "The General Committee shall elect from themselves, by ballot, six Ministers and three Laymen, to be a Committee of Correspondence; . . . The office of the Committee of Correspondence is, to seek for proper Missionaries, to superintend their instruction, and to correspond with them when sent out." [*Proceedings of Society*, I, p. 16.]

¹⁰²Stock, III, p. 807.

If we go all over India, and are privileged to address the Christians everywhere, we must be interpreted at C. M. S. stations alone in 16 different languages.¹⁰³

The stations at Ceylon and on Mauritius and Madagascar were scenes of success. China had many more American and English non-Episcopal missions than Anglican ones, but four dioceses were there, while the work of missionary women and medical missions in that country was of great importance.¹⁰⁴ Japan, Australia, South America and Canada all reflected credit on the Society.

All of these accomplishments, as we have seen, did not come without trial and pain and occasional failure. Fifty-three missionaries died in Sierra Leona, alone, between 1804 and 1824.¹⁰⁵

But beyond these losses, the Society could point to a large and growing organization in 1895. It had 344 ordained missionaries, and 93 lay missionaries. 247 wives and 192 single women were at work in the stations, making a total of 903 active servants scattered abroad. It counted 187,586 native, baptized Christians, of whom 56,538 were communicants. In addition, there were 23,038 catechumens, making a total of 210,624 adherents to the Church of England. In one year, 4,478 adults and 7,989 children were baptized, while in the 2,016 schools an attendance of 84,725 scholars was recorded.¹⁰⁶

In the present century the Church Missionary Society has made additional advances. An example will indicate the vigor being displayed by this remarkable organization as it embarks upon its fourth half-century. In the portion of Cameroon which was assigned to Great Britain after World War I, the Church Missionary Society was primarily responsible for gratifying progress in the extension of Christianity. Between 1924 and 1936, the number of Protestant Christians

¹⁰³Stock, III, p. 808.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*, III, p. 809.

Both a cause and a product of the Humanitarian movement, the Church Missionary Society devoted attention to the physical well-being of its charges, as well as to their spiritual growth. Hospitals, or medical missions, formed a part of the "great design." In the second decade of the nineteenth century, the Society added an outstanding name to its list of workers. Abdul Masih, the Society's first native clergyman in India, and a convert from Mohammedanism, was first employed as a reader in 1811. He was, unofficially, one of the first of the Society's medical missionaries. In a period of two months he treated one hundred cases, spent a large part of his small salary upon medicines, and acquired renown as the Christian *hakim*. However, the great period of medical missionary work and the establishment of hospitals came after the Society was well grown, and, as late as 1840, this work was still in its infancy. [Stock, I, p. 183.]

¹⁰⁵*Annual Report*, 1947-1948, p. 6.

¹⁰⁶C. M. S., *Atlas*, p. xiv.

increased in this area from 93,620 to 410,565.¹⁰⁷ In the Sudan, the Society has labored unceasingly, although with less success than elsewhere, a circumstance common to all missionary societies working in that Moslem district.¹⁰⁸ Among the Moslems of Egypt, the Society has been able to convert about twenty persons a year, a sign of slow but steady progress.¹⁰⁹

This glimpse into the history of the Church Missionary Society reveals the accomplishments possible and within the reach of people who will endlessly, selflessly, devote their lives to the advance of Christianity. Today the Society recognizes the challenge of tomorrow:

"Out of our yesterdays has grown something continuing, yet new—almost terrifyingly new in its immense possibilities for the future."¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷Latourette, VII, p. 244.

¹⁰⁸Latourette, VII, p. 259.

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*, VII, p. 258.

¹¹⁰*Annual Report*, 1947-1948, p. 7.

MUSIC OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN PENNSYLVANIA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY*

By Herbert Boyce Satcher†

WHILE Pennsylvania was settled under Quaker auspices, the charter granted to William Penn by King Charles II in 1681 stipulated that if as many as twenty inhabitants of the new province should state in writing to the bishop of London their desire to have a clergyman of the Established Church appointed to minister to them, the request should be granted and the clergyman allowed to carry on his ministrations without hindrance.¹

It is likely that Church of England services were held in the country along the Delaware River before Penn's colony was organized.² However, such services were sporadic, and indeed it was some years before a rather timid request was made for them under the provisions of the charter. In the 1690s George Keith began the long trek back to the Church, to be followed by many other Quakers in the course of two and a half centuries, including Penn's own family.

Finally, in 1695, Christ Church, Philadelphia, was organized, and a church building begun on the present site. After brief ministries by two other clergymen, and many controversies and frictions with the dominant Quaker party, the Rev. Evan Evans was sent by the bishop of London as incumbent of Christ Church, in 1700.³ During his ministry of eighteen years in Philadelphia, Dr. Evans is said to have baptized some

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¹Perry, *History of the American Episcopal Church*, I, 223, 224. [Fuller references to the sources will be found in the Bibliography.]

²Manross, *History of the American Episcopal Church*, 126.

³Dorr, *Historical Account of Christ Church, Philadelphia*, 24.

eight hundred persons⁴ Undoubtedly a considerable number of these were Quakers, and perhaps his great success was due in no small measure to his organization of "a society of young men who met together every Lord's Day, after Evening Prayer, to read the Scripture and *sing Psalms*."⁵

Youth requires some outlet for its high spirits, and it is conceivable that the singing of psalms might very well have furnished this outlet in a sober Quaker settlement at the beginning of the 18th century. Dr. Evans made the most of his opportunity at these meetings to set forth the Church's teaching, hence the great number of baptisms and the constantly increasing membership of the parish church. So we may say that psalmody was at least a contributing cause of this development.

DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE CENTURY

But to what kind of psalmody were the youth of primitive Philadelphia treated, for their delectation and edification? By this time there were two versions of the metrical psalms current, and set forth by authority of the Church of England. The so-called *Old Version* of Sternhold and Hopkins had appeared in 1562, and after a century and a half of use, was still firmly entrenched in the affections of churchmen. A formidable rival made its appearance in 1696 in the *New Version* of Tate and Brady. The *Old Version* was a versified translation, often crudely literal, which offended those with even moderately fastidious tastes. The *New Version* consisted of paraphrases rather than translations. It was really a collection of hymns based on the sense of the psalms, written by two men of some literary standing.

As to tune books, there was first Ravenscroft's fine book of tunes in four parts, with the melody in the tenor, published in 1621. After the Restoration, these tunes were found to be too grave in character, and John Playford issued a *Collection* in 1671, but the standard was too high, so he published a second edition in 1677, with the tunes arranged in three parts, the melody in the treble. In 1701, *The Divine Companion* was published, compiled by John Playford's son, Henry, which went through several editions. Together these books form the chief sources of the tunes to which the metrical psalms of both the *Old* and *New Versions* were sung in the 18th century.⁶

Two years after its appearance, the bishop of London licensed the *New Version* for use in his diocese, and as he had oversight of the clergy of the Church in America, we may assume that the license extended to the colony of Pennsylvania. But just when the *New Version* began

⁴Dorr, *op. cit.*, 27.

⁵Humphreys, *Historical Account of the S. F. G.* Quoted by Dorr, *op. cit.*, 27.

⁶*Hymns Ancient and Modern, Historical Edition, Introduction*, passim.

actually to supersede the *Old Version* here we do not know. We do know that the first copy of the Book of Common Prayer printed in America contains the *New Version* of Tate and Brady. This book⁷ was printed in 1710 by William Bradford, who was New York's first printer, and a vestryman of Trinity Church from 1703 to 1710. In August, 1707, the *New Version* came into use in that parish by order of the vestry.⁸ In the Bradford Prayer Book, after the "Alphabetical Table" of first lines of the psalms, there is a paragraph of "Directions about the Tunes and Measures." Here the names of fifteen tunes are mentioned, and it is stated that they "are printed in the *Supplement* to this New Version of Psalms." But the *Supplement* and its tunes are not contained in the book.

Pioneer conditions prevailed to such a large extent in the colonies, and there was so little time for any extensive development of the arts, especially music, which was looked at askance both by Puritans and Quakers, that there was perhaps no congregation able to master as many as fifteen tunes.⁹ In many places five or six were all that could be managed.¹⁰ As there was naturally a scarcity of books, the dreadful custom of "lining out" the metrical psalms gained wide currency:

"Each line of the Psalm was first read over by the clerk or minister, and then sung by the congregation. The music was thus broken up into disconnected fragments and was apt to lose its identity. In fact it not infrequently happened that a congregation became 'side-tracked' and ended with a tune other than the one 'pitched' at the start."¹¹

And it must be made clear that such luxuries as choirs were not to be found until later in the century. The singing was entirely congregational, probably entirely in unison or octaves, and was consequently restricted to a few psalm tunes, rendered in the distressing manner noted above. But even this helped to hold the interest of Dr. Evans' promising class of youths.

The tunes mentioned in Bradford's Prayer Book as the usual ones were evidently the ones familiar to most Church people at the beginning of the 18th century, and the ones that were being universally sung in the churches. We list them herewith, with some brief notes on their origin and source:

⁷It is now excessively rare, the only perfect copy known to exist being the property of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁸Messiter, *History of the Choir and Music of Trinity Church, N. Y.*, 14.

⁹Messiter, *op. cit.*, 16.

¹⁰Lutkin, *Music in the Church*, 69.

¹¹Lutkin, *op. cit.*, 66.

YORK is apparently of Scottish origin, and is first found in *The CL Psalmes of David in Prose and Meeter*, Edinburgh, 1615, where it is called *The Stilt*. Ravenscroft, 1621, gives it in three arrangements, two by John Milton the Elder, the other by Simon Stubbs. It became immensely popular.¹²

WINDSOR was first published in the 2nd Edition of Damon's *Psalmes*, 1591, and the next year it appeared in Este's *Psalmes* in changed form set to Psalm 116. In Scotland it was called *Dundee* in *The CL Psalmes*, 1615, but must not be confused with the well-known tune of that name. It was Ravenscroft who gave it the name of *Windsor* or *Eton*.¹³

ST. DAVID'S, supposed to be of Welsh origin, is given by Ravenscroft, 1621, with some awkward intervals requiring octave jumps, later changed by Playford, 1677, to make it more singable.¹⁴

LITCHFIELD (OR LICHFIELD) is not the same tune as the one given by Ravenscroft as a setting for Psalm 58. There were at least three tunes current bearing this name, and by the middle of the century this one seems to have disappeared from use, or at least is no longer traceable under this name.

CANTERBURY was one of five new "short" tunes written for Este's *Psalmes*, 1592. It is derived from Damon's tune to Psalm 33. It is called *Low Dutch Tune* in Ravenscroft, but the third and fourth lines are entirely different.¹⁵

MARTYRS first appeared in the Scottish Psalter of 1615, and then in Ravenscroft, 1621. Sir Walter Scott, in *Old Mortality*, records the tradition that the Covenanters engaged in the Battle of Drumclog, 1 June 1697, singing Psalm 76, "In Judah's Land Is God Well Known," to this stirring tune.¹⁶

SOUTHWELL (OR LONDON) comes from the later edition of Damon, 1591. It is also in Este and Ravenscroft, but is not to be confused with the tune named *Southwell* in the 1st edition of Damon.¹⁷

ST. MARY'S (OR HACKNEY) is a Welsh tune, coming from Prys'

¹²*Hymns A. & M.*, Ed. cit., 521; Moffatt and Patrick, *Handbook to the Church Hymnary*, Rev., Ed., *Supplement*, 93.

¹³*Hymns A. & M.*, Ed. cit., 136.

¹⁴*Hymns A. & M.*, Ed. cit., 685; Lightwood, *Hymn Tunes and Their Story*, 64.

¹⁵*Hymns A. & M.*, Ed. cit., *Introduction*, p. liv.

¹⁶Moffatt and Patrick, *op. cit.*, 176.

¹⁷*Hymns A. & M.*, Ed. cit., 591; cf. also p. 481.

Psalter, 1621. Again an octave skip and other awkward jumps in the melody are apparent.¹⁸

OLD 25TH first appeared in the 2nd edition of the Anglo-Genevan *Psalter*, 1558.¹⁹

OLD 113TH is an early 16th century melody from Strassburg, taken from the *Kirchenampt*, 1525, probably written by Matthaeus Greiter. In the Strassburg French *Psalter*, 1539, it is set to Psalm 36, and was taken over from this source into the 1561 edition of the Anglo-Genevan *Psalter* as a tune for Psalm 113. Its first line is the same as the later and now very popular *Lasst uns Erfreuen*.²⁰

OLD 148TH is a tune set to Psalm 136 in Este's *Psalmes*, 1592, and was apparently used interchangeably with this psalm and Psalm 148, in the 17th century.²¹

OLD 104TH is from Ravenscroft, 1621, and may be his own work.²²

OLD 100TH is the famous tune ascribed to Louis Bourgeois, and first appeared in the French *Psalter*, 1551, set to Psalm 134. It appeared first in England in the Anglo-Genevan *Psalter*, 1561, set to Kethe's translation of Psalm 100, and has ever after been associated with it.²³

OLD 125TH is the almost equally famous *Les Commandmens de Dieu* of Bourgeois from the French *Psalter* of 1547, adapted to English metre in the 1st edition of the Anglo-Genevan *Psalter*, 1556.²⁴

OLD 51ST, which has disappeared from use, seems also to have come from the Anglo-Genevan *Psalter* of 1556. It is in Este, 1592, and is given in Ravenscroft, 1621, as an English tune.

It will be seen that these tunes are all solid products of the various metrical psalters of the 16th and 17th centuries. Some of them have survived to our day, or are being revived by modern hymn-book editors.

Very early in the century a number of other parishes of the Church of England were founded in the neighborhood of Philadelphia. Among

¹⁸*Hymns A. & M.*, Ed. cit., 143.

¹⁹Lightwood, *op. cit.*, 30.

²⁰Moffatt and Patrick, *op. cit.*, 78.

²¹Dearmer and Jacob, *Songs of Praise Discussed*, 124.

²²Moffatt and Patrick, *op. cit.*, 13.

²³Moffatt and Patrick, *op. cit.*, 82.

²⁴*Hymns A. & M.*, Ed. cit., 460.

them are St. John's, Concord; St. John's, Pequea; St. James', Perkiomen (Evansburg); and St. James', Bristol. But in telling the story of the music of the period we shall have to confine our attention to the better known Philadelphia churches.

Soon the congregation of Christ Church outgrew its original church building, and the cornerstone of the present handsome church was laid 27 April 1727.²⁵ No time was lost in arranging for the purchase of an organ, and a committee reported to the vestry in September of the next year that they had treated successfully with a gentleman called in the vestry minutes "Mr. Lod. C. Sprogel" for "an organ lately arrived here."²⁶ This "Mr. Lod. C. Sprogel" was Ludovic Christian Sprogel, a survivor of the Rosicrucian Brotherhood which Johannes Kelpius had brought to the shores of the Wissahickon in 1694. After the Brotherhood disbanded, he seems to have come into possession of the mystical books belonging to it, and gave the ones which were sufficiently orthodox to Christ Church, in the same year the vestry purchased the organ from him, and there they still remain.

The price paid for the organ was £200, and another committee was appointed to raise this sum and to have the organ transported to the church and erected there.²⁷ The pedigree as well as the destiny of this instrument is still an unsolved mystery. Did the Wissahickon mystics bring it with them from the old country, or was it constructed for their use here by Dr. Christopher Witt, one of their talented members? Did Sprogel then inherit it along with the books, and see his opportunity here to realize something from his inheritance, and subsequently show his gratitude by making a gift of the books?

Doubtless the singing in the new church was greatly improved by the support which this fine organ gave. But who played it we do not know, nor is there mention of it again until a new one was needed in the latter half of the century.

We have said that Tate and Brady's *New Version* of the metrical psalms was rather a paraphrase than a translation. In reality this version was the connecting link between psalmody and hymnody, the *rapprochement* between the mutually contradictory Calvinistic and Lutheran positions, the former maintaining that the Deity should only be addressed in song in the words He Himself has given us, and the latter that it is proper for the creature to send up to the Creator the best of which he is capable. The *New Version*, strangely enough,

²⁵Dorr, *op. cit.*, 59.

²⁶For an account of Sprogel, his relationship to Christ Church, and a conjecture in regard to the origin of the organ, see *Church Music and Musical Life in Pennsylvania in the 18th Century*, I, 15, 16.

²⁷Dorr, *op. cit.*, 61, 325.

proved to be the opening wedge in the assault on the Calvinist citadel. The breach was widened immeasurably by the labors of the famous English non-conformist (Congregational) minister, Isaac Watts (1674-1748). He not only set about the "renovation of psalmody," but also the composition of hymns embodying many phases of evangelical belief and practice.²⁸ In both he was abundantly successful.

The first edition of Watts' *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* was published in London in 1707, and a second edition, "corrected and much enlarged," appeared in 1709. *The Psalms of David Imitated* came along ten years later, in 1719. But prior to this, his *Divine Songs Attempted in Easy Language for the Use of Children* had reached publication in 1715. In 1729 Benjamin Franklin reprinted the seventh edition of the *Psalms*, apparently the first publication having to do with music in Philadelphia.²⁹ In 1737 the same publisher brought out an edition of the *Divine Songs*, and in 1741 he reprinted the fifteenth edition of the *Hymns* and the thirteenth edition of the *Psalms*.³⁰ Innumerable editions followed, the *Psalms* and *Hymns*, or a selection of them, being usually bound together in a single volume. Thus it was through the enterprise of Benjamin Franklin, publisher, a pewholder in Christ Church, and a member of the committee that built the steeple and imported the bells, that the latest developments in the field of psalmody and hymnody were so soon made available to Philadelphians.

Other Philadelphia Church music publications of the first half of the century include:

*The Singing Master's Guide to His Scholars. With the Psalms According to the Old and New Translations . . . With the Tunes in Two Parts. By Daniel Warner, 1730;*³¹ a reprint of Tate and Brady, 1733;³² and *The Youth's Entertaining Amusement, or a Plain Guide to Psalmody. Being a Collection of the Most Usual and Necessary Tunes Sung in the English Protestant Congregation in Philadelphia, etc., in Two Parts, viz. Treble and Bass, with All Proper and Necessary Rules, Adapted to the Meanest Capacities. By W. Dawson, Writing Master and Accomptant, at the Hand and Pen, in Third Street, Philadelphia, 1754.*³³

"English Protestant Congregation in Philadelphia" of course means Christ Church. Sonneck says "no copy seems to have come down to us." What would we not give to find a copy! Then we should have

²⁸Benson, *The English Hymn*, 110-113.

²⁹Sonneck, *Francis Hopkinson and James Lyon*, 12.

³⁰Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 14.

³¹Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 13.

³²Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 14.

³³Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 19.

definite and exact knowledge of the very tunes in use in Christ Church at the half way mark of the century.

While bells are not usually included in the musical equipment of a church, those at Christ Church are of sufficient interest to require some mention here. The original bell, weighting 700 pounds, and said to have been hung in the fork of a tree beside the original church to call parishioners to worship, was cast in 1702. A smaller bell, weighing 215 pounds, and called the "Minister's bell," was given by Captain Horne, commander of the *Centurion*, in 1711.⁸⁴ At mid-century, shortly after extensive alterations and repairs had been made, owing to woefully inadequate seating accommodations, it was decided to build a steeple and purchase a set of bells.⁸⁵ Eight in number, they were ordered from London, and finally arrived in the autumn of 1754, on board the *Myrtilla*, under command of Captain Budden. The cost was £560. 7s. 8d.⁸⁶ When St. Peter's Church was built a few years later, the old bells were sent there, and served the new church until its tower was built and a set of bells given in 1842. The great bell now hangs at Christ Church Hospital, Belmont, Philadelphia, and the small bell was given to Christ Church Chapel, where it remained until that work was given up, when it was returned to the mother church.

For almost two centuries the citizens of Philadelphia have listened with delight to the chimes and peals rung on the set of bells which the *Myrtilla* brought from London in 1754. They were silent during the Revolutionary War, when they were taken down and hidden during the British occupation of Philadelphia, but they still send out their joyous sounds, though muffled now by the taller buildings, and by the raucous voices of a changed neighborhood, and the harsh discords of the motor age.

By this time the musical development of Philadelphia had made considerable strides. Concerts were being held, singing schools conducted, instruction given on various instruments, theatrical performances with music promoted, and musical publications on the increase. Altogether, the musical life of the city was beginning to take on a metropolitan aspect, and we may assume that in the face of a developing culture some of the early crudities of the congregational singing had been to a certain degree smoothed out.

THE PRE-REVOLUTIONARY DECADES

During the second half of the century, our sources of information are fuller. With the increase in population, and greater security and

⁸⁴Washburn, *Christ Church, Philadelphia. A Symposium*, 26.

⁸⁵Dorr, *op. cit.*, 98.

⁸⁶Dorr, *op. cit.*, 106.

stability, more time could be spent on cultural pursuits. Consequently there is more to record.

An event of great significance about this time was the founding of St. Peter's Church; significant to us because of the coterie of fine musicians that clustered about the church, establishing at the beginning of its life a distinguished musical tradition which has been consistently maintained ever since.

As early as 1749 discussion began regarding the building of a new church in the southern section of the city, which should be a sort of chapel of ease to the mother church.³⁷ This section, known as Society Hill, from "The Society of Free Traders" chartered by Penn in 1682, and which had a warehouse and office near-by,³⁸ had become a favored residential section. Various factors conspired to make the building of a new church necessary. The elegant residents of this section experienced considerable annoyance and some discomfort in making the trip to Christ Church, through filthy, muddy, bumpy streets, and, after their arrival there, finding an over-crowded church with insufficient room for the voluminous skirts of the ladies.³⁹

By 1753 some definite action was taken, and the rather slow-moving machinery set in motion. Acting upon a petition dated 1 August 1754, and signed by many prominent residents of the neighborhood, the then proprietaries of the province, Thomas and Richard Penn, grandsons of William Penn, and loyal adherents of the Church of England, made a grant of a lot to accommodate the new church on the southwest corner of Third and Pine Streets.⁴⁰ Other lots were acquired, a building fund started, and finally the cornerstone was laid in September 1758. The new church, which the vestry resolved should be called St. Peter's, was opened for worship 4 September 1761.⁴¹

Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette* for 10 September 1761 thus describes the opening service:

"The officiating clergy, and several of their Brethren together with the Church-Wardens and Vestrymen, met at Christ Church from whence they walked in regular procession to the Governor's House, and being there joined by his Honour and some members of his Council, went on to St. Peter's where an animated and well adapted Sermon was preached by the Rev. Dr. Smith, Provost of the College in the City, to a polite and crowded audience from these words: 'I have surely built thee an house to dwell in, a settled place for thee to abide in for-

³⁷Jefferys, *Provincial and Revolutionary History of St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia*, 13.

³⁸Jefferys, *op. cit.*, 6.

³⁹Jefferys, *op. cit.*, 14.

⁴⁰Jefferys, *op. cit.*, 16.

⁴¹Dorr, *op. cit.*, 126.

ever.' 'But will God indeed dwell on the earth? behold, the heaven and heaven of heavens cannot contain thee; how much less this house that I have builded?' 'The Lord our God be with us, as he was with our fathers; let him not leave us, nor forsake us.' 'That all the people of the earth may know that the Lord is God, and there is none else.' I Kings viii, 13, 27, 57, 60. Everything was conducted with the utmost Decency, Order, and Solemnity; and after the Sermon the words of the text, which had been previously composed into an Anthem were elegantly sung by a Number of Ladies and Gentlemen to the vast Satisfaction of every Body present."⁴²

We do not know who had "previously composed" this text into an anthem, and nothing is said of any instrumental support for the "ladies and gentlemen" by whom it was so "elegantly sung." But we do know that music, and music beyond the mere singing of metrical psalms, played a part in the first service ever held within the walls of St. Peter's Church. The fact that the words of the sermon text were made into an anthem indicates a primitive attempt at unity in the construction of the service.

About this time, as a result of an unsavory controversy, a new church, St. Paul's, was launched by personal followers of the Rev. William McClenaghan. He seems to have been a violent evangelical, who attracted to himself turbulent elements from the verge of the Church's following, and outside it, and who found it difficult to submit to authority. Both the rector of Christ Church, Dr. Robert Jenney, and the provost of the College of Philadelphia, Dr. William Smith, opposed his activities in Philadelphia, and neither the bishop of London nor the archbishop of Canterbury would license him to officiate there. So after two years he had to withdraw from the field, but St. Paul's Church was built on the east side of Third Street, below Walnut, an unauthorized church obtruding itself between the affiliated Churches of Christ Church and St. Peter's, and not looked upon very kindly by either of them.⁴³

As early as 1762 an organ was built for St. Paul's by Philip Feyring,⁴⁴ a German by birth, who had made a local reputation for building excellent spinets and harpsichords, and whom Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette* proclaimed the best hand at the "ingenious business" of building organs on the continent.⁴⁵

Within a year and a half after the opening of St. Peter's, steps were taken to provide an organ for it, as this vestry minute shows:

⁴²Quoted by Jefferys, *op. cit.*, 27; cf. Smith, *Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, D. D.*, I, 279-280.

⁴³Manross, *op. cit.*, 130; cf. Jefferys, *op. cit.*, 52.

⁴⁴Barratt, *Old St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*, 41.

⁴⁵Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 91.

"The vestry agreed to the erecting of an organ in St. Peter's Church, provided that neither the said organ, nor the organist, shall be any charge to the churches, until the debt for building St. Peter's Church is paid."⁴⁶

Philip Feyring was the builder, and a vestry minute of 2 November 1763, regarding the opening of a subscription to build an organ for Christ Church, states that the organ had already been placed in St. Peter's.⁴⁷

The presence of such a noted organ builder evidently led all three of the Episcopal churches of the city to take advantage of his skill within the space of three years. The needs of the two new churches may have spurred the mother church to make this rather large outlay so soon after the building of the steeple and the importation of the bells. In 1761 Mrs. Mary Andrews had bequeathed £100 to Christ Church to be applied on the purchase of an organ.⁴⁸ When the vestry decided to embark on the undertaking in 1763, £500 was the sum set to be raised. Whatever sum was agreed upon by Feyring and the committee, it is recorded that "the expense exceeded the estimate," and because the work was "well and faithfully done," the vestry thought "Mr. Feyring ought to receive some proper allowance."⁴⁹

Anyway, the organ was installed in September 1766, and is said to have had three manuals and a two-octave pedal clavier, ranging upwards from a sixteen foot C. There were 27 stops distributed as follows: Great Organ, 12; Swell Organ, 7; Choir Organ, 5; Pedal Organ, 3; containing in all about 1,607 pipes. There is some doubt as to whether the entire organ was installed immediately. It is possible that at first only the Great and Swell sections were installed, and that the instrument was later extended by the addition of the Choir and Pedal sections.⁵⁰

Likewise there is uncertainty regarding the old organ. As the organ which Feyring built is nowhere alluded to as a *new* organ, and a passage in the dedication of a book published in 1763, and hereafter to be described, reads: "It is highly probable there will be organs erected in both our Churches before it is long,"⁵¹ it seems clear that there was no organ in Christ Church at the time.⁵² Indeed a pamphlet, published by William Dunlap, Philadelphia, in April 1763, entitled *The Lawfulness, Excellency, and Advantage of Instrumental Music in the Public*

⁴⁶Dorr, *op. cit.*, 137.

⁴⁷Dorr, *op. cit.*, 145.

⁴⁸Dorr, *op. cit.*, 123.

⁴⁹Dorr, *op. cit.*, 159.

⁵⁰Dorr, *op. cit.*, 325.

⁵¹*A Collection of Psalm Tunes, &c., Vide infra.*

⁵²Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 90.

Worship of God, &c, by a Presbyterian, which is a plea for the use of the organ in Presbyterian churches in order to improve congregational singing, states that St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia, was "the only *English* [meaning Church of England] congregation in the Province" having an organ at that time, though the other two Episcopal churches were then raising organ funds.⁵³ If this is so, what happened to the old organ Christ Church purchased from Sprogel in 1728?

Up to this point no person who had anything to do with the making of music in the churches has been mentioned. A vestry minute of 22 April 1762 records that William Carteright was appointed "Clerk of St. Peter's Church in the room of John Harrison who resigned."⁵⁴

The clerk's position was an important one in the 18th century. The word is an abbreviation of the Latin word *clericus*, and originally all clerks were in holy orders.⁵⁵ But when minor orders ceased to be conferred in the English Church after the Reformation, it became the custom to appoint laymen to fulfill their functions. In the 17th and 18th centuries, owing to changed conditions of Church life, clerks were generally reduced to one in a parish, who led the singing, often "setting" the psalm tune, and acting as precentor, as well as making the responses vicariously for the congregation.⁵⁶ It was customary for trials or examinations in reading and singing to be held before an appointment was made.⁵⁷

William Young was appointed to the position at St. Peter's in 1765, and held it, with some interruptions, for a number of years. He was a bookseller and publisher,⁵⁸ who had helped in teaching and instructing the children of the united congregations in the art of psalmody. To him, and to his collaborator in the undertaking, Francis Hopkinson, the vestry expressed their thanks for this good work, under date of 3 April 1764.⁵⁹

FRANCIS HOPKINSON: MUSICIAN

No account of the music of the Episcopal Church in Pennsylvania could possibly omit mention of the name of Francis Hopkinson. In fact, he is its most shining light. A distinguished jurist, signer of the Declaration of Independence, poet and musician, he was a faithful and devoted churchman, placing his time and talents freely at the disposal of

⁵³Benson, *op. cit.*, 185.

⁵⁴Jefferys, *op. cit.*, 56.

⁵⁵In England the word is commonly pronounced as if written c-l-a-r-k, and was undoubtedly so pronounced in this country in the 18th century.

⁵⁶Hook, *A Church Dictionary*, 208-209.

⁵⁷Jefferys, *op. cit.*, 56.

⁵⁸Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 89.

⁵⁹Dorr, *op. cit.*, 147.

the Church. Besides being a skillful performer on the harpsichord, Hopkinson played the organ acceptably, and has, so far, the best claim to being America's first native composer.⁶⁰ However, his activities in the field of Church Music alone are of interest to us here.

In 1763 there appeared a small book, now very rare, entitled:

A Collection of Psalm Tunes with a Few Anthems and Hymns, Some of Them Entirely New, for the Use of the United Churches of Christ Church and St. Peter's Church, in Philadelphia, 1763.

This book was advertized in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 5 May 1763, without any hint regarding the identity of its compiler. Much speculation has been aroused on this point. When it is remembered that Hopkinson's interest in psalmody was so great that he was willing to assist the parish clerk in instructing the children in that art, and that he was engaged in doing so at this very period of his life, it is but natural that he should compile and publish a collection such as this for the purpose. Indeed the dedication of the volume to the rector of the united churches states this purpose categorically. The text of the dedication reads:

"To the Rev. Mr. Richard Peters, Rector of the United Churches of Christ Church and St. Peter's Church in Philadelphia.

Rev. Sir,

Among your many Designs for the Promotion of Religion in general, and the Good of the Churches more immediately under your Care, permit me to hope this Attempt to the Improvement of our Psalmody, or Church Music, will meet with your favourable Acceptance and Encouragement. Something of this Kind was thought the more necessary, as it is highly probable there will be Organs in both our Churches, before it be long; which would be but a needless Expence if the Congregations could not join their Voices with them in the singing of Psalms, For this Purpose I have made this Collection of Psalms, Hymns, and Anthems, and prefixed a few Rules for Singing, in as clear and easy a Manner as possible; so that Children, with very little Attention, may understand them.

Should this Undertaking meet with your Encouragement and Recommendation, I doubt not but it will be crown'd with due Success, and greatly improve that solemn Part of divine Service. If so, my End will be fully answered.

I am, Reverend Sir, with great Respect,

Your most Obedient, Humble Servant,

The Editor."⁶¹

⁶⁰Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 78; Howard: *Our American Music*, 3rd Edition, 37.

⁶¹From the copy in possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Conclusive proof that Hopkinson was the compiler seems to be established by the fact that the setting of the Twenty-third Psalm in the *Collection* is identical with the one in an important manuscript book of *Songs* in Hopkinson's handwriting, dated 1759, and there signed "F. H."⁶² There is another psalm tune signed by him in the eight pages of tunes appended to the "Proposed" Prayer Book, for which we know that Hopkinson was responsible.⁶³

As to the contents of *A Collection of Psalm Tunes*, which we may now unhesitatingly claim as Hopkinson's work.⁶⁴ Following the dedication there is a short introduction to the art of psalmody, a page of "Characters and Exercises," then ten pages of psalm tunes, twenty-six in number, in three-part harmony on three staves, marked treble, tenor, bass. The tunes are as follows:

ST. JAMES'S, by Raphael Courteville, is taken from *Select Psalms and Hymns for the Use of the Parish Church and Tabernacle of St. James's, Westminster*, 1697. Here it is anonymous, but Courteville's name is attached to it in P. Hart's *Melodies to Be Sung*, 1713.⁶⁵

CANTERBURY (Already noted under Bradford's Prayer Book).

YORK (Already noted under Bradford's Prayer Book).

COLESHILL has had a checkered history in various early forms dating from 1644. It is in reality a modified form of the tune *Windsor* (noted under Bradford). The form given here is the best, and comes from *A Collection of Psalm Tunes in Four Parts Fitted to the Old and New Versions*, 1711. Some claim that it is "possibly the greatest of all Psalm tunes."⁶⁶

MEAR. The origin of this tune seems wrapped in obscurity. While various writers attribute it to early American collections, without being specific, the most definite information at hand is that it is included in an edition of the *New Version* of Tate and Brady published at Boston in 1757, in the back of which is bound, without title, fifteen pages of music engraved by Thomas Johnson, Brattle Street, Boston, 1755.⁶⁷ However it likely appeared in much earlier collections.

⁶²Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 32, 91, 92. This MS. book is now in the Library of Congress.

⁶³*Vide infra*.

⁶⁴Hastings, *Life and Works of Francis Hopkinson*, 74; Jefferys, *op. cit.*, 57.

⁶⁵Hymns A. & M., *Ed. cit.*, 470.

⁶⁶Dearmer and Jacob, *op. cit.*, 350; Moffatt & Patrick, *op. cit.*, 13, Supp. 4.

⁶⁷McCutchan, *Our Hymnody*, 557; Brown and Butterworth, *Story of the Hymns and Tunes*, 130; Howard, *op. cit.*, 37, 47.

ST. DAVID'S (Already noted under Bradford's Prayer Book).

ST. MARY'S (Already noted under Bradford's Prayer Book).

SOUTHWELL (Already noted under Bradford's Prayer Book).

WESTMINSTER. This is Orlando Gibbons's tune *Angels or Song 34*, one of the set he wrote for George Wither's *Hymns and Songs of the Church*, 1623. It was changed from a long metre to a short metre tune by the omission of three notes in the second and fourth lines, and so given in the Supplement to Tate and Brady for Psalm 115, where it is called *Westminster*.⁶⁸

LONDON OLD is given in the Supplement to Tate and Brady for Psalm 7. It seems to be related to *Southwell*, which is called *London Old* in some collections, but complete identification has not been possible, so far.

LONDON NEW is from *The Psalmes of David*, Edinburgh, 1635, where it is called *Newtoun*. The earliest form, now no longer current, was modified when it came into England through Playford, 1671, as here given.⁶⁹

MARTYRS (Already noted under Bradford's Prayer Book).

ST. ANNE'S is almost universally attributed to William Croft, organist of St. Anne's Church, Soho, Westminster, at the time the tune first appeared in the 6th edition of the *Supplement to the New Version*, 1708, though no name was attached to it.⁷⁰

BRUNSWICK is a tune in the 18th century florid style. It may be by Billings.

ST. HUMPHRY'S is likewise in this style.

PROPER TUNE TO THE 81ST PSALM is set to this psalm in the first complete English metrical psalter, *The Whole Book of Psalmes*, 1562.⁷¹

STANDISH is found in two early American collections, Walter's *Grounds and Rules*, 1721, and Tufts' *Introduction to the Singing of Psalmes*, 1726.⁷²

BEDFORD is by William Wheall, probably derived by him from an earlier tune. It appears in a number of undated books

⁶⁸Hymns A. & M., *Ed. cit.*, 9.

⁶⁹Moffatt and Patrick, *op. cit.*, 177.

⁷⁰Hymns A. & M., *Ed. cit.*, 537.

⁷¹Hymns A. & M., *Ed. cit.*, 312.

⁷²Macdougall, *Early New England Psalmody*, 159.

of the early 18th century, perhaps the earliest of them being *The Divine Music Scholar's Guide*, by Francis Timbrell, which was certainly published before 1723. Wheall was organist of St. Paul's Church, Bedford, hence the name of the tune.⁷³

PORTSMOUTH (or NAMUR) is likewise in the Tufts and Walter Collections. The first line is identical with the *Old 113th*, but there the resemblance ends.

THE NEW 100TH PSALM TUNE. Not identified; it may be by Hopkinson.

PROPER TUNE TO THE 113TH PSALM. The *Old 113th*, noted under Bradford.

PROPER TUNE TO THE 119TH PSALM. Added to the psalter in 1560, this tune survived through the 18th century. It is found in Este, and in the Supplement to Tate and Brady.

PROPER TUNE TO THE 149TH PSALM is the well-known tune *Hanover*, and like *St. Anne*, has usually been ascribed to William Croft. They both appeared first in the same collection, 1708.⁷⁴

PROPER TUNE TO THE 148TH PSALM. Another form of the *Old 148th*, noted under Bradford.

CAMBRIDGE is set to Psalm 9 in Este, and is an additional tune to Psalm 128 in Ravenscroft. It may be by Christopher Tye. In the Supplement to Tate and Brady it is set to Psalm 2.

Then there are settings of five hymns in two parts: "Sing We Praises to the Lord" (also in the Hopkinson manuscript book); "When All Thy Mercies, O My God," by Addison; "The Spacious Firmament on High" (Psalm 19), by Addison; "Thro' All the Changing Scenes of Life," being Tate and Brady's rendering of Psalm 34; and "When We Our Wearied Limbs," their rendering of Psalm 137. The next hymn, "My Soul Thy Great Creator Praise," is arranged as an air for two voices, with chorus in three parts. And finally there are five pieces in three parts: CHIDDINGSTONE; THE 4TH PSALM; THE 23RD PSALM, which is identical with the setting in Hopkinson's manuscript book, and known to be by him;⁷⁵ HALLELUJAH ("Praise the Lord Ye Immortal Choir"); and THE 98TH PSALM.

⁷³Moffatt and Patrick, *op. cit.*, 85-86, 533.

⁷⁴*Hymns A. & M.*, *Ed. cit.*, 443.

⁷⁵Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 92.

This little book must have attracted favorable notice at the time, and must have served its purpose well, for Hopkinson was engaged shortly afterwards by the consistory of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of New York to make a metrical version of the psalms in English, adapting them to the customary Dutch metres, so that the familiar Dutch tunes could be used with them.⁷⁶ The book was published in 1767, and while again no name of editor, arranger, or translator, appears anywhere in the book, Hopkinson's arrangement for the task, and the terms under which he worked are recorded in the church minutes under dates of 22 May and 29 June 1764. Hopkinson wrote to Franklin, 13 December 1765:

"I have finished the translation of the Psalms of David to the great satisfaction of the Dutch Congregation of New York and they have paid me £145 their currency which I intend to keep as a body reserve in case I should go to England."⁷⁷

While this activity of Hopkinson's is not of immediate concern to us in this place, it is mentioned to show his great interest in the question of psalmody, his ability as a worker in this field, and his willingness to use his talents wherever and whenever opportunity offered.

THE REVEREND WILLIAM WHITE

Dark days faced the Episcopal Church during the Revolution and the difficult period which followed. The Church was suspect because of its connection with the Established Church of the mother country. As is so often the case in times of danger or extreme peril, a leader was raised up to pilot the Church on its hazardous course between the Scylla of Toryism and the Charybdis of an ecclesiastical as well as a political revolution.

The leader came forward in the person of William White. Born in Philadelphia in 1748,⁷⁸ the son of a prominent and substantial family, White studied at the College of Philadelphia (later the University of Pennsylvania), under its first provost, the noted William Smith, who landed in Philadelphia from Scotland in 1754,⁷⁹ and who had previously spent two and a half years in New York as a tutor. As was necessary in those days, because there were no bishops in the colonies, White had to go to England for ordination, having been prepared for this by Dr. Smith, Dr. Richard Peters, rector of Christ Church and St. Peter's, and by Dr. Jacob Duché, then assistant and later rector of the united

⁷⁶Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 93-94.

⁷⁷Quoted by Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 94.

⁷⁸Stowe, *The Life and Letters of Bishop William White*, 3.

⁷⁹Smith, *op. cit.*, 45.

churches. Ordained deacon, 23 December 1770, by Dr. Philip Yonge, bishop of Norwich, he had to remain in England until he was of sufficient age to receive priest's orders, which were conferred upon him by Dr. Richard Terrick, bishop of London, on St. Mark's Day, 25 April 1772.⁸⁰ Upon his return to Philadelphia several months later, White was appointed assistant at the united churches, and rose to the rectorship in 1779, as a result of the exigencies of war. He steered a careful course during its progress, maintaining an unquestioned loyalty to the cause of the colonists, yet never sacrificing any fundamental Anglican Church principles. After the war, Dr. White emerged as the Church's trusted and beloved leader, at least in the middle and southern colonies.

SOME CONTEMPORARIES OF FRANCIS HOPKINSON

But before proceeding with the Post-Revolutionary phases of our story, we must mention a few more of the makers of Church music who were contemporaries of Francis Hopkinson.

Most important of these was James Bremner, an organist, music teacher, and composer, thought to have been a brother of Robert Bremner, the well-known music publisher, first of Edinburgh and later of London. James Bremner is an elusive character, and the piecing together of the scraps of definite information about him does not make anything like a complete picture. He apparently came to Philadelphia in 1763, for his advertisement for pupils, as was the custom in those days, appears in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 1 December 1763.⁸¹

From notice of a concert which he gave at the Assembly Room, 21 February 1764, for the benefit of the organ fund of St. Peter's Church, it has been assumed that he was probably the first organist of that Church.⁸² This may have been so, but on the other hand, he may have given the concert as a bid for pupils from what he conceived to be the right stratum of society. Anyway, the vestry minutes inform us that he was organist of Christ Church in January 1767.⁸³ As the new Feyring organ had been installed there only four months before,⁸⁴ it is a reasonable inference that he took the position as soon as the organ was ready. The next mention of Bremner is in a doubly interesting vestry minute of 10 December 1770, where we read this widely quoted statement:

"Mr. Church-warden Hopkinson having been so obliging as to perform on the organ at Christ Church during the ab-

⁸⁰Stowe, *op. cit.*, 35.

⁸¹Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 28.

⁸²Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 28.

⁸³Dorr, *op. cit.*, 159.

⁸⁴Dorr, *op. cit.*, 325.

sence of Mr. Bremner, the late organist, the vestry unanimously requested of him a continuance of this kind office, until an organist should be appointed, or as long as it should be convenient and agreeable to himself. Mr. Hopkinson cheerfully granted this request."⁸⁵

It is likely that Bremner had not been long gone at this time, and a possible reason for his going may be found in a passage of a letter written to Francis Hopkinson by John Penn, the lieutenant-governor, while on a visit to England, 26 June 1772:

"I sympathize with you upon the deplorable state of music in Philadelphia. . . . I wish I could relieve you but I have no acquaintance with any poor fellow that would venture to go to America upon an uncertainty. It is scandalous the Church people will not enter on to a subscription for a number of years to support a good organist or at least to make it worth his while to go over. If a thing of this kind could be set on foot and the Subscribers would be honest enough . . . no doubt Mr. Bremner could be induced to return among you, which must be more agreeable at any rate, than have a stranger you know nothing about, or who may be a low-lived fellow, we cannot be upon the same footing with that we can with him."⁸⁶

In addition to the reason for his departure, this letter also indicates the esteem in which Bremner was held by such important persons as Hopkinson and John Penn. Bremner did return to Philadelphia, but just when is uncertain, though the *Diary* of James Allen mentions him as being organist of Christ Church, 1 February 1774.⁸⁷ That he died in September, 1780, we know from a notation appended to the dirge which Francis Hopkinson wrote in his memory. The words have survived,⁸⁸ but the music apparently has perished. They are further proof of the close association of Hopkinson and Bremner, and of the high regard which Hopkinson had for him. It is thought that Bremner was Hopkinson's chief instructor in the art of music, which may well have been the case.⁸⁹

Reporting the commencement of the College of Philadelphia, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 19 November 1767 stated that

"an Ode, set to Music, was sung by Mr. John Bankson, with great Sweetness and Propriety, accompanied by the Organ, &c.

⁸⁵Dorr., *op. cit.*, 163; Howard, *op. cit.*, 40; Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 29; Hastings, *op. cit.*, 174-175.

⁸⁶Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 47.

⁸⁷Quoted by Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 28.

⁸⁸Hopkinson, *Miscellaneous Essays*, III, 184, quoted by Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 105.

⁸⁹Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 29.

under the Conduct of a worthy son of the College, who has often shewn his Regard to the Place of his Education, by honouring it, on public Occasions, with ready Service."⁹⁰

Undoubtedly this "worthy son of the College" was Francis Hopkinson, and it is likely that he also wrote the music for the ode. However that may be, the singer, John Bankson, must have been a good, all-around musician, for three years later, 10 December 1770, he was appointed organist of St. Peter's Church.⁹¹ This appointment was made by the vestry at the request of the young man's father, Andrew Bankson, one of the original vestrymen of St. Paul's Church.⁹² Perhaps he wanted the experience, for he agreed to serve without remuneration until the Church funds were in better condition. Five years later the vestry made him a present of £10.⁹³

While the name of William Tuckey is chiefly associated with Trinity Church, New York, as parish clerk, composer, and music instructor, his latter years, for the most part shrouded in obscurity, were spent in Philadelphia. Tuckey had been a vicar choral of Bristol Cathedral,⁹⁴ and had a good knowledge of English Church music tradition and practice. When he came to New York in 1752, he was the most noted musician England had sent to America. He had ability, zeal, and ambition. After four years as parish clerk, the vestry of Trinity Church dismissed him, probably because the pursuit of his many interests made it impossible for him to discharge his duties to their satisfaction.⁹⁵ In spite of his dismissal, he continued to serve Trinity Church as occasion offered. His most notable achievement was the first performance in America of portions of Handel's *Messiah* at a benefit concert, 16 January 1770.⁹⁶ These same selections were repeated in Trinity Church, 3 October 1770, at a special service on behalf of the Corporation for the Relief of the Widows and Children of Clergymen.⁹⁷ After this Tuckey disappears from the New York musical scene.

Eight years later he is mentioned in a vestry minute of 19 June 1778 as parish clerk of St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia.⁹⁸ When he assumed these duties we do not know. He was then an old man of 70, and died three years later. The inscription on his tombstone in the burial-ground of Christ Church, at Fifth and Arch Streets, reads:

⁹⁰Hastings, *op. cit.*, 174.

⁹¹Dorr, *op. cit.*, 163.

⁹²Barratt, *op. cit.*, 32; Jefferys, *op. cit.*, 58.

⁹³Jefferys, *op. cit.*, 58.

⁹⁴Messiter, *op. cit.*, 20.

⁹⁵Messiter, *op. cit.*, 21.

⁹⁶Sonneck, *Early Concert Life in America*, 180.

⁹⁷Messiter, *op. cit.*, 29.

⁹⁸Jefferys, *op. cit.*, 57.

"To the memory of Mr. William Tuckey who was born in Somersetshire in England and died September 14th, 1781, in the 73d year of his age."⁹⁹

Though the obscurity of his later years seems singularly inconsistent with the publicity which had always attended his earlier efforts, the strained relations between the mother country and the land of his adoption can hardly have been responsible. He disappears long before the break came, and appears in old age as clerk in a parish where support of the American cause was enthusiastic. Tuckey's compositions continued to appear on programs after his death,¹⁰⁰ and in spite of the gaps in our knowledge of him, he did leave his mark on the musical life of the 18th century, and especially upon the music of the Church.

POST-REVOLUTIONARY DEVELOPMENTS

As the Revolution drew to its close, signs of increased interest in musical matters in the Church, auguring well for the future, began to manifest themselves. In December 1782, a committee was appointed to regulate the singing at St. Peter's Church, and especially to make arrangements with Matthew Whitehead, or some other suitable person, "to instruct twelve persons in singing to accompany the organ."¹⁰¹ Here we have the first mention of a choir at this church.

Sonneck reminds us that Philadelphia could not boast of any trained choruses to sing choral music until a few years after the war.¹⁰² He further says:

"Of course there were the so-called singing schools of olden times which provided the Churches of the city with a nucleus of ladies and gentlemen fairly well grounded in church music, but from congregational and choir singing, that is to say, from the usual psalms, hymns and anthems to cantatas, oratorios and secular choral works of larger compass is a wide step."

Men like William Tuckey sought to correct this state of affairs, but their efforts were largely frustrated by lack of ability and lack of interest. In 1784 Andrew Adgate founded what he called "The Institution for the Encouragement of Church Music," which had many difficulties, and several transformations, as "The Uranian Society," and "The Uranian Academy of Philadelphia." But jealousy arose between some profes-

⁹⁹Clark, *A Record of the Inscriptions on the Tablets and Grave-Stones in the Burial-Grounds of Christ Church, Philadelphia*, 34.

¹⁰⁰Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 108, 114.

¹⁰¹Jefferys, *op. cit.*, 60.

¹⁰²Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 102.

sional instrumentalists and the non-professional Mr. Adgate, which led to controversy and the decline of the Society, Adgate himself perishing in the yellow fever epidemic of 1793.

These jealousies sometimes had amusing consequences, as may be seen in the case of Andrew Law, a cultivated teacher of psalmody from New England, who had a varied and erratic career. He was instructing a class in Philadelphia in 1783, and obtained permission to give a concert of religious music with his pupils at St. Peter's.¹⁰³ Apparently without consulting rector or vestry, he began to sell tickets of admission to the church for the concert. Of course the Church authorities were scandalized at this, and required him to return the money paid for these tickets to their purchasers, and to announce in the newspapers that admission would be free. While the concert was in progress, a disturbance arose among the auditors, which was so serious that it led to arrests. The ringleader appeared to be no less a person than the clerk of St. Peter's, William Young, who was haled before the vestry. He was severely reprimanded for his "rude and disorderly behaviour," and summarily dismissed from his position as clerk.

"Jealousy, on the part of the Clerk at Law's success and popularity evidently caused this ungentlemanly conduct. Possibly Law had been training a choir to replace the Clerk, therefore he arranged a hostile demonstration."¹⁰⁴

The Revolution succeeded in giving the American colonies their independence after seven years of hostilities. This left the Episcopal Church, in 1783, a heterogeneous lot of independent parishes, cut off from the former source of their unity and, in many cases, means of support, and above all, the oversight and discipline needed during the pioneer stage in a new land. For years the effort had been made to procure the episcopate for America, but the difficulties seemed insurmountable in a state-controlled Church, without any precedent for such extension since the Reformation. Thus it was that political and ecclesiastical independence found an *Episcopal* Church, dependent upon bishops for its very life and character, and for the perpetuation of its ministry, without a single clergyman of the episcopal order.

The tasks which lay immediately at hand to be accomplished must have seemed overwhelming. Some sort of organization had to be effected, bringing together the scattered parochial units; the episcopate had to be procured, so that the validity of the Church's orders might be transmitted unimpaired; the Prayer Book had to be adapted to the needs

¹⁰³Jefferys, *op. cit.*, 60, 61.

¹⁰⁴Jefferys, *op. cit.*, 61.

of the Church in this country, without departing in any essential points from the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the mother Church; oil had to be poured on wounds, prejudices overcome, new planting begun and nourished. That all of this was accomplished with such despatch, and with as few mistakes as attended it, was due in no small degree to the genius and personality of William White,¹⁰⁵ ably assisted by his old preceptor, William Smith,¹⁰⁶ who had by this time left Philadelphia to become rector of the church at Chestertown, Maryland. The steps in the process were, first of all, the organization of representatives of the scattered parishes into a preliminary General Convention; second, the revision of the Prayer Book; and finally the procuring of the episcopate. It is the second of these steps which is of particular interest to us.

MUSIC AND THE REVISION OF THE PRAYER BOOK

At the first General Convention, which assembled in Christ Church, Philadelphia, 27 September 1785,¹⁰⁷ over which Dr. White presided, a committee was appointed to revise the liturgy, with Dr. Smith as chairman.¹⁰⁸ This committee proceeded immediately with its work, and while remarkable progress was made during the sessions of the Convention, many details had to be settled later, and the book prepared for the press. It was published in April 1786, as the famous "Proposed" Book of Common Prayer. This book was fortunately never adopted by the Church, as it contained changes which would have placed the Church outside the main current of the Anglican tradition.¹⁰⁹ A book not too far at variance with that tradition was finally adopted by the Convention of 1789. The Proposed Prayer Book is of interest to us, because of the struggle between the advocates of hymns and metrical psalms which its preparation precipitated, and also because of the inclusion of eight pages of tunes at the end of the book, showing the tunes in common use as the century was drawing to its close.

We have already mentioned the opposing views of the Lutherans and Calvinists on the question of religious song, and have alluded to the great progress made towards reconciling these positions by Isaac Watts and his followers, whose work was kept before the American public by the reprints issued by Franklin and others. But the greatest impetus to hymn-singing was given by the arrival of John and Charles Wesley in the new colony of Georgia in 1735, the one as an S. P. G. missionary, the other as secretary to General Oglethorpe, the governor.

¹⁰⁵Manross, *op. cit.*, 187.

¹⁰⁶Manross, *op. cit.*, 189.

¹⁰⁷Dorr, *op. cit.*, 204.

¹⁰⁸Manross, *op. cit.*, 195.

¹⁰⁹For a summary of these changes, *vide* Manross, *op. cit.*, 196.

On the westward voyage they came under the influence of Moravian missionaries whose fervent hymn singing made a deep and lasting impression.¹¹⁰ Henceforth the writing and singing of hymns became a marked feature of their evangelistic work, and it must be remembered that the two brothers were, and remained to the end of their lives, priests of the Church of England. Charles Wesley became one of the greatest and most prolific of hymn writers.

While the Wesleys remained but a brief time in America, there was published at Philadelphia in 1740 a volume entitled *A Hundred and Fifty-odd Hymns Composed by John and Charles Westly* (sic), for the benefit of the poor in Georgia.¹¹¹ The first of the Wesley hymn-books, entitled *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns*, appeared anonymously, bearing the imprint "Charles Town, printed by Lewis Timothy, 1737." This was the first collection of hymns ever published for use in the Church of England,¹¹² though it was published for local use in a new parish in distant America, and unauthorized. But it is significant that such a book should have been printed in America, and under such auspices.

The hymnological work of Watts and the Wesleys was therefore familiar to the compilers of the Proposed Prayer Book of 1786, by frequent publication in their own city and elsewhere. While Watts and the *Supplement to the New Version* were drawn upon freely for the fifty-one hymns attached to that book, only one Wesley hymn appears in it, and that not by John or Charles, but by Samuel, Jr.

It was on the eighth day of the Church's primary General Convention, at the evening session of Wednesday, 5 October 1785, in Christ Church, Philadelphia, that a committee was appointed to carry out the publication of the Prayer Book, then in process of alteration and revision. The Rev. Drs. White, Smith, and Wharton were appointed to this committee, and a resolution of the Convention ordered "that the same Committee be authorized to publish with the Book of Common Prayer such of the reading and singing Psalms . . . as they may think proper." The committee had already been given "the liberty to make verbal and grammatical corrections, but in such manner, as that nothing in form or substance be altered."¹¹³

It is to be noted that nothing was said about hymns in these instructions, and that not much liberty in regard to changes was given to the committee. Dr. Smith was then living in Maryland, and Dr. Whar-

¹¹⁰Douglas, "Early Hymnody of the American Episcopal Church," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE P. E. CHURCH*, X, 213.

¹¹¹Sonneck, *Francis Hopkinson and James Lyon*, 14.

¹¹²Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology*, 726; Douglas, *op. cit.*, 213.

¹¹³*Journal of General Convention of 1785*, in Perry, *A Half Century of Legislation in the American Church*, I, 28; Smith, *op. cit.*, II, 140.

ton in Delaware, so Dr. White alone was on the ground in Philadelphia, where the publishers, Hall and Sellers, were located. This necessitated a rather voluminous correspondence, most of which has survived.¹¹⁴ Shortly after the Convention adjourned, Smith wrote to White of his desire to add some "hymns for the festivals and other occasions which may be got from sundry authors," and hoped that some might be forthcoming from "members of our own Church in America who are distinguished for their poetical talents and not ashamed to exert them on the lofty themes of religion."¹¹⁵ The former desire was gratified, but not the latter.

In much of this correspondence Dr. Smith pressed the matter of including more hymns and fewer psalms. On the latter subject he says: "The Psalms of David, unless where tortured by versifiers, have but few evangelical subjects."¹¹⁶ But regarding hymns, he pleads his cause in these eloquent words:

"I enclose you a Collection of hymns to follow the psalms, and which I have every reason to believe will be a great recommendation of our Prayer Book to multitudes of our most serious and religious members. The Methodists captivate many by their attention to Church music, and by their hymns and doxologies, which, when rationally and devoutly introduced, are solemn parts of public and private worship. I have arranged the hymns under proper heads, have chosen the best I could possibly find, and have spent several whole nights the last week in copying them for the press. . . . The number of hymns is more than I expected when I sat down to collect them; but I see none that I could wish to leave out. On the great festivals of the Church, there should be some variety, at least three or four, and of different metres, to complete the psalmody of the day."¹¹⁷

Dr. White was suspicious of any attempt to cut down the number of psalms or to increase the number of hymns, yet he reluctantly permitted Dr. Smith's plan to go through without too much objection, perhaps owing to his great regard for Dr. Smith and his ability, and perhaps because he sensed a demand for the increasing use of hymns. His own position is stated clearly in his *Memoirs of the Church*, where we find such passages as these:

"The present writer has no leaning to the theory of those who consider all singing, except of David's Psalms, as irreverent

¹¹⁴It may be found in Perry, *op. cit.*, III, 125-200, and in Smith, *op. cit.*, II, 141-203.

¹¹⁵Smith, *op. cit.*, II, 143.

¹¹⁶Smith, *op. cit.*, II, 171.

¹¹⁷Smith, *op. cit.*, II, 168.

and irreligious. On the contrary he is in favor of the opinion for the introducing of some hymns, expressly recognizing events and truths peculiar to the New Testament. Still . . . he declares, that in respect to the ordinary topics of prayer, of praise, and of precept, he finds no compositions so much tending to the excitement of devotion, as what we have in the Book of Psalms."¹¹⁸

"On the subject of Hymns . . . the author of these remarks acknowledges, that it was with pain he saw the subject brought forward [at the General Convention in 1808.]¹¹⁹ This was not because he doubted either of the lawlessness of celebrating the praises of God in other strains than those of David, or of the expediency of having a few well selected hymns for the especial subjects of the evangelical economy, which can no otherwise be celebrated in the Psalms, than in an accomodated sense. Nevertheless, there is so little of good poetry except the Scriptural, on sacred subjects, and there was so great danger of having a selection accomodated to the degree of animal sensibility, affected by those who were the most zealous in the measure, that the discretion of adopting it seemed questionable."¹²⁰

As for Dr. White's use of hymns in his own churches, it is said he never gave out one, unless he absolutely had to do so.¹²¹ Once Dr. Abercrombie, one of his assistants, and more daring than most assistants, worked in a hymn by a clever ruse. He ended his sermon by quoting the first line of a hymn, having previously arranged with the choir to take up the hymn at that point and sing it through. Taken to task for it afterwards by the rector, the assistant proceeded to argue the matter, but the unprecedented action was never repeated.¹²²

While the Proposed Prayer Book was being put through the press, the matter of tunes for the psalms and hymns came up, and Dr. White wrote to Dr. Smith under date of 17 January 1786, that he had called Francis Hopkinson into consultation on the subject, and that they had selected a few tunes whose names Dr. White was enclosing, and which Hopkinson was then engaged in copying for the engraver.¹²³

Dr. Smith replied in a long letter of 23 January that he had every confidence in Hopkinson's judgment, especially on the scores of "elegance and taste," and that his association with the book would undoubtedly recommend it to many people. He said further:

¹¹⁸White, *Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 3rd ed., 306.

¹¹⁹Dr. Smith was then dead five years, and so was not there to exercise his old spell.

¹²⁰White, *op. cit.*, 236.

¹²¹Smith, *op. cit.*, II, 220.

¹²²Smith, *op. cit.*, II, 221.

¹²³Smith, *op. cit.*, II, 166.

"With the assistance of our organist Mr. Limburner, our clerk, and some other gentlemen of this town, I have examined the tunes which are to be engraved and we generally approve of them; except *Canterbury*, which is too flat and inanimate. *St. Anne's*, though good, is too difficult for singers in general. These two might be exchanged for some more popular tunes, which you have omitted, such as *Brunswick* and *Stroud* tunes . . . In addition to the tunes which are proposed in your list, we would offer the six which are enclosed, or such of them as you think may vary most from those of the same metre which you retain."¹²⁴

In reply, Dr. White says that matters have reached such a stage that it would be very expensive to make the changes suggested. But later he says he has managed to substitute *Brunswick* for *St. Anne's*, and says further:

"Mr. Hopkinson had so fitted his tunes as to occupy an half sheet on both sides; besides which, he is desirous of inserting a page of chants; and if I comply with this, it will be to gratify him, as he has taken so much trouble in the matter. The ruling press alone . . . will be a demand on us for £62. 10s. . . . Matters being thus circumstanced, I wish to add no more to the music. You know tunes may be sung besides those printed. For my part, I am convinced, that no circumstance impedes good singing in our churches so much as great diversity of tunes."¹²⁵

Dr. White later wrote a magazine article published under a pseudonym,¹²⁶ and then separately as a pamphlet,¹²⁷ in which he strongly advocated the inseparable association of certain tunes with certain psalms, and insisted upon keeping the number down to very few, as, he said, "no Church can want more than from a dozen to twenty tunes."

Shortly before work began on the Proposed Prayer Book, and probably at the instance of the rector, the vestry of the United Churches of Christ Church and St. Peter's, under date of 3 April 1785, passed a resolution that "the clerks be desired to sing such tunes only as are plain and familiar to the congregations; the singing of other tunes, and frequent changing of tunes being, to the certain knowledge of the vestry, generally disagreeable and inconvenient; and that the Church Wardens be directed to notify them of the same."¹²⁸ An instance of a rector and vestry being in complete accord! But the clerks apparently were not of like mind, or the resolution would not have been necessary.

¹²⁴Smith, *op. cit.*, II, 167.

¹²⁵Smith, *op. cit.*, II, 175.

¹²⁶In *The Churchman's Magazine* for May and June, 1808, Vol. V, p. 175.

¹²⁷*Thoughts on the Singing of Psalms and Anthems in Churches.*

¹²⁸Dorr, *op. cit.*, 203.

So we find Francis Hopkinson responsible for the brief musical portion of the Proposed Prayer Book, and his opinion sought by Dr. White on matters of text and arrangement, both of the prose and metrical psalms.¹²⁹ He had had ample experience at both of these tasks, as we have seen from his editing and publishing the *Collection of Psalm Tunes* for the use of Christ Church and St. Peter's, and from his work on the psalter for the Reformed Dutch Church of New York.

Many of the tunes in the Proposed Prayer Book had already appeared in the Bradford Prayer Book of 1710, and in Hopkinson's *Collection* of 1763. The whole list in the back of the Proposed Prayer Book is as follows:

ST. JAMES'S (In the Hopkinson *Collection*).

CANTERBURY (In both Bradford and Hopkinson).

COLESHILL (In the Hopkinson *Collection*).

MEAR (In the Hopkinson *Collection*).

BRUNSWICK (In the Hopkinson *Collection*).

BEDFORD (In the Hopkinson *Collection*).

ST. MATTHEW'S is ascribed to William Croft. It appeared in the 6th Edition of the *Supplement to the New Version*, 1708.¹³⁰

CHRIST CHURCH may have been written by Francis Hopkinson and named for his parish church. It bears the marks of the period in its florid last two lines.

OLD 100TH (In both Bradford and Hopkinson).

MORNING HYMN. This is apparently taken from Lyon's *Urania*, 1761. It appears in Josiah Flagg's *Collection of the Best Psalm Tunes*, Boston, 1764, in the key of C, with the melody in the tenor, and with the composer given as "L.n." It may or may not be by James Lyon, but it is not starred as new in *Urania*.¹³¹

ANGELS' HYMN. This is an 18th century version of Gibbons' *Song 34*, found under the name of *Westminster* in Hopkinson's *Collection*. The first line is almost unrecognizable, showing how tunes were changed to suit changing fashions, or the purposes or whims of editors.

¹²⁹Smith, *op. cit.*, II, 156, 172, 173, 175, 179, 187, 191.

¹³⁰*Hymns A. & M.*, *Ed. cit.*, 695.

¹³¹Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 181.

SHIPMAN. Not identified. It is evidently an 18th century florid tune.

50TH PROPER is probably from Lyon's *Urania*.

NEW CASTLE. This tune is in Lyon's *Urania*, and also in Williams' *Universal Psalmist*, 1763.

WIRKSWORTH appeared first in Chetham's *Book of Psalmody*, 1718, as a tune for Psalm 1. It is probably by Chetham himself, and has gone through many transformations.¹⁸²

149TH PSALM (In the Hopkinson *Collection*.)

148TH PSALM is an anthem setting in two parts, treble and bass.

PROPER TUNE FOR PSALM 96TH is signed F. H., and is unquestionably by Hopkinson.¹⁸³

In addition to the hymn tunes there are also three chant tunes, one at the bottom of page 7, and two at the bottom of page 8, inserted, as Dr. White said, to please Hopkinson.¹⁸⁴

Thus we see that eight of the tunes had already appeared in the 1763 *Collection*, and Hopkinson evidently went to Lyon's *Urania*, or to its source, for some more, and composed at least one tune for the purpose.

HOPKINSON ON THE CONDUCT OF CHURCH ORGANS

Hopkinson addressed a long and very interesting letter to Dr. White *On the Conduct of Church Organs*. It bears no date, but it is quite possible that it was called forth by the intimate collaboration of the two men on the Proposed Prayer Book. The most plausible date for it is the spring of 1786.¹⁸⁵ It is such a sane and sensible document, and many of the observations expressed therein so far transcend the blighting hand of time, that it seems to be worthy of reproduction here in its entirety:

I am one of those who take great delight in sacred music, and think, with royal David, that heart, voice, and instrument should unite in adoration of the great Supreme.

A soul truly touched with love and gratitude, under the influence of penitential sorrow, will unavoidably break forth in expressions suitable to its feelings. In order that these emana-

¹⁸²*Hymns A. & M., Ed. cit.*, 581.

¹⁸³Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 92, 93.

¹⁸⁴*Vide supra*.

¹⁸⁵Hastings, *op. cit.*, 436.

tions of the mind may be conducted with uniformity and a becoming propriety our church has adopted into her liturgy, the book of psalms, commonly called *David's Psalms*, which contain a great variety of addresses to the Deity, adapted to almost every state and temperature of a devoted heart, and expressed in terms always proper, and often sublime.

To give wings, as it were to this holy zeal, and heighten the harmony of the soul, *organs* have been introduced into the churches. The application of instrumental music to the purposes of piety is well known to be of very ancient date. Indeed, originally, it was thought that music ought not to be applied to any other purpose. Modern improvements, however, have discovered that it may be expressive of every passion of the mind, and become an incitement to levity as well as sanctity.

Unless the real reason for which an organ is placed in a church be constantly kept in view, nothing is more likely to happen than an abuse of this noble instrument, so as to render it rather an obstruction to, than an assistant in, the good purpose for which the hearers have assembled.

Give me leave, sir, to suggest a few rules for the conduct of an organ in a place of worship according to my ideas of propriety.

1st. The organist should always keep in mind, that neither the time or place is suitable for exhibiting all his powers of execution; and that the congregation have not assembled to be entertained with his performance. The excellence of an organist consists in his making the instrument subservient and conducive to the purposes of devotion. None but a master can do this. An ordinary performer may play surprising tricks, and show great dexterity in running through difficult passages, which he has subdued by dint of previous labour and practice. So *he* must have judgment and taste who can call forth the powers of the instrument and apply them with propriety and effect to the seriousness of the occasion.

2nd. The voluntary, previous to reading the lesson, was probably designed to fill up a solemn pause in the service; during which the clergyman takes a few minutes respite, in a duty too lengthy, perhaps, to be continued without fatigue, unless some intermission be allowed: then the organ hath its part alone, and the organist an opportunity of showing his power over the instrument. This, however, should be done with great discretion and dignity, avoiding everything light and trivial, but rather endeavoring to compose the minds of the audience, and strengthen the tendency of the heart in those devout exercises, in which, it should be presumed, the congregation are now

engaged. All sudden jerks, strong contrasts of *piano* and *forte*, rapid execution, and expressions of tumult should be avoided. The voluntary should proceed with great chastity and decorum; the organist keeping in mind, that his hearers are now in the midst of divine service. The full organ should seldom be used on this occasion, nor should the voluntary last more than *five minutes* of time. Some relaxation, however, of this rule may be allowed on festivals and grand occasions.

3rd. The *chants* form a pleasing and animating part of the service; but it should be considered that they are not songs or tunes, but a species of *recitative*, which is no more than speaking musically. Therefore, as melody or song, is out of the question, it is necessary that the harmony should be complete, otherwise *chanting*, with all the voices in unison, is too light and thin for the solemnity of the occasion. There should at least be half a dozen voices in the organ gallery to fill the harmony with bass and treble parts, and give a dignity to the performance. Melody may be frivolous; harmony never.

4th. The prelude which the organ plays immediately after the psalm is given out, was intended to advertise the congregation of the psalm tune which is going to be sung; but some famous organist, in order to show how much he could make of little, has introduced the custom of running so many divisions upon the simple melody of a psalm tune, that the original purpose of this prelude is now totally defeated, and the tune so disguised by the fantastic flourishes of the dexterous performer, that not an individual in the congregation can possibly guess the tune intended, until the clerk has sung through the first line of the psalm. And it is constantly observable that the full congregation never join in the psalm before the second or third line, for want of that information which the organ should have given. The tune should be distinctly given out by the instrument, with only a few chaste and expressive decorations, such as none but a master can give.

5th. The interludes between the verses of the psalm were designed to give the singers a pause, not only to take breath, but also an opportunity for a short retrospect of the words they have sung, in which the organ ought to assist their reflections. For this purpose the organist should be previously informed by the clerk of the verses to be sung, that he may modulate his interludes according to the subject.

To place this in a strong point of view, no stronger, however, than what I have too frequently observed to happen; suppose the congregation to have sung the first verse of the 33d psalm

"Let all the just to God with joy
Their cheerful voices raise;
For well the righteous it becomes
To sing glad songs of praise."

How dissonant would it be for the organist to play a pathetic interlude in a flat third; with the slender and distant tones of the echo organ, or the deep and smothered sounds of a single diapason stop?

Or suppose again, that the words sung have been the 6th verse of the VIth psalm.

"Quite tired with pain, with groaning faint,
No hope of ease I see
The night, that quiets common grief
Is spent in tears by me . . ."

How monstrously absurd it would be to hear these words of distress succeeded by an interlude selected from the tag end of some thundering figure on a full organ, and spun out to a most unreasonable length? Or, what is still worse, by some trivial melody with a rhythm so strongly marked, as to set all the congregation to beating time with their feet or heads? Even those who may be impressed with the feelings such words should occasion, or in the least disposed for melancholy, must be shocked at so gross an impropriety.

The interludes should not be continued above 16 bars in *triple*, or ten or twelve bars in *common* time, and should always be adapted to the verse sung; and herein the organist hath a fine opportunity of showing his sensibility, and displaying his taste and skill.

6th. The voluntary after service was never intended to eradicate every serious idea which the sermon may have inculcated. It should rather be expressive of that cheerful satisfaction which a good heart feels under the sense of a duty performed. It should bear if possible, some analogy with the discourse delivered from the pulpit; at least, it should not be totally dissonant from it. If the preacher has had for his subject, penitence or sin, the frailty and uncertainty of human life, or the evils incident to mortality, the voluntary may be somewhat more cheerful than the tenor of such a sermon might in strictness suggest; but by no means so full and free as a discourse on praise, thanksgiving, and joy, would authorize.

In general, the organ should ever preserve its dignity; and upon no account issue light and pointed movements which may draw the attention of the congregation and induce them to carry

home some very petty air with which the organist hath been so good as to entertain them. It is as offensive to hear lilt and jigs from a church organ, as it would be to see a venerable matron frisking through the public streets with all the fantastic airs of a columbine.¹³⁶

The question arises as to when chanting came into use in the Philadelphia churches, a question which cannot be settled with any certainty. Obviously it had been introduced before this letter was written, and it is most gratifying to read the very sensible ideas on the subject which Hopkinson communicates to his rector. We hope his words were heeded, and that there was at least a period of good chanting before the horrors of 19th century distortion seized upon the art. As we have seen, three chant tunes were included in the Proposed Prayer Book of 1786, and we have expressed the belief that the above letter was written while preparation for that book was in progress. If so, this would nullify the claim that chanting was first introduced into this country at St. Michael's Church, Marblehead, Massachusetts, on Christmas Day, 1787.¹³⁷

Writing of the music of Trinity Church, New York, Dr. Messiter says:

"It is difficult to believe that the music of Trinity Church, until nearly the end of the 18th century, was limited to metrical Psalms, with an occasional anthem to mark special occasions, and a voluntary on the organ. Of music in the Communion Service, celebrated at long intervals, we may be sure there was none; but it is reasonable to suppose that the shorter Canticles, Venite, Jubilate, Cantate, and Gloria Patri, or some of them were chanted, if there was any kind of regular choir, or even with the boys of the charity school. There is, however, no proof that it was done."¹³⁸

This statement holds equally true of conditions in the Philadelphia churches, up to the writing of Hopkinson's letter and the publication of the Proposed Prayer Book.

THE GENERAL CONVENTION OF 1789

This latter publication went through the press, and appeared in April, 1786, but did not receive a very warm reception. Things began

¹³⁶Hopkinson, *Miscellaneous Essays*, II, 119-126. The letter was printed after Hopkinson's death in the *Columbian Magazine* of September, 1792. It is here reprinted from Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 59-62.

¹³⁷Brooks, *Olden-Time Music*, 78.

¹³⁸Messiter, *op. cit.*, 25.

to happen very quickly. Dr. White was elected bishop of Pennsylvania at a diocesan convention, 14 September 1786, and Drs. Samuel Provoost and David Griffith were elected in New York and Virginia, respectively. But the English bishops were in no mood to transmit the episcopate to a branch of the Church which was considering the omission of an article of the Apostles' Creed, which had proposed discarding the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds entirely, which had recommended a garbled version of the psalter, and which had put a number of other changes in the Prayer Book not dictated by the changed political status. An adjourned session of the General Convention convened at Wilmington, Delaware, 10 October 1786, corrected some of the objectionable departures of the Proposed Prayer Book, and furnished properly signed credentials to the three bishops-elect. Dr. White sailed for England 2 November 1786, and along with Dr. Provoost, was consecrated to the episcopate in the Chapel of Lambeth Palace, 4 February 1787. Dr. Griffith had to face financial difficulties in his own diocese, and was never consecrated. Bishop White returned to America, 7 April 1787, and began his long episcopate of forty-nine years. In 1789, the unification of the Church was effected, and a Prayer Book considerably different from the Proposed Prayer Book of 1786 was ratified. The unification brought into the General Convention the conservative New England representatives, led by Dr. Samuel Seabury, who had been consecrated bishop of Connecticut by bishops of the Scottish Episcopal Church, 14 November 1784, as first bishop of the Church in America.

In addition to ratifying a Prayer Book which all agreed to accept, the General Convention of 1789 reduced the number of hymns to 27, restored the whole book of 150 metrical psalms, and printed no tunes in the newly ratified and authorized Prayer Book, which appeared in print in 1790. This appendix to the Prayer Book was the first authorized Hymnal of the Episcopal Church.

A BRILLIANT GALAXY OF MUSICIANS

Meanwhile, a brilliant galaxy of musicians was gathering in Philadelphia. They were professionals, while most of the earlier musicians were amateurs. A number of them were related by ties of blood, and all by close association of interest and interplay of activity. Most of them came to this country from Great Britain, within a decade after the close of the war, probably sensing that there would be a wide field here for the exercise of their talents as performers on instruments, singers, composers, teachers, managers, builders of instruments, publishers, and sellers of music.

Among the first to arrive was Alexander Reinagle (1756-1809), pianist, composer, and theatrical manager, who, though not specifically associated with the music of the Church in Philadelphia, was intimately connected with those who were, both among his family and friends. Reinagle was born in Portsmouth, England, the son of Joseph Reinagle, an Austrian musician. One of his brothers, Joseph, Jr., became a famous musician in Scotland. It was Alexander Robert, son of the younger Joseph, and nephew of Alexander, who became organist of the Church of St. Peter-in-the-East, London, and wrote the famous hymn tune *St. Peter*, a standard tune in most modern hymnals. A sister of Alexander married Johann Georg Christoff Schetky, a German musician of note, prominently associated with Robert Bremner, reputed brother of James Bremner,¹³⁹ in the musical life of Edinburgh. Their son was George Schetky, one of the Philadelphia galaxy.

Alexander Reinagle studied both the theory and practice of music with Raynor Taylor, before either of them came to America. He arrived in New York in 1786, calling himself "member of the Society of Musicians in London." His proposal to settle in New York not meeting with sufficient encouragement, he went to Philadelphia, after giving proof of his abilities to the New Yorkers in an excellent concert. In Philadelphia his talents were soon appreciated, and he became music teacher in the best families. He conducted and performed in numerous concerts, besides presiding at the harpsichord in opera in several cities, especially in Baltimore, before he and Wignell founded the New Theatre at Philadelphia in 1793. This enterprise was in every respect remarkable, but too great a preference was given to opera, and the commercial success was not in keeping with the artistic. Reinagle developed an astonishing activity as a composer and arranger during these years. He died at Baltimore, 22 September 1809.

George Schetky (1776-1831) apparently came to Philadelphia in 1787, and joined his uncle, Alexander Reinagle, when only eleven years of age. He played the organ, all of the stringed instruments, and became a good conductor, besides being a singer, composer, and arranger of music. Among his most famous arrangements was one for "full band" of Katzwara's piano sonata *The Battle of Prague*, the great popularity of which is indicated by its imitations, notably the one by James Hewitt, entitled *The Battle of Trenton*. Schetky formed a partnership with Benjamin Carr in the music publishing and selling business, which existed for a number of years. He was one of the founders of the Musical Fund Society of Philadelphia,¹⁴⁰ and when he died was buried

¹³⁹*Vide supra.*

¹⁴⁰Madeira, *Music in Philadelphia and the Musical Fund Society*, 60, 61.

in St. Peter's Churchyard. His tombstone bears this inscription:

In memory of George Schetky, a native of Edinburgh, Scotland.
Born June 11th, 1776, Died December 11th, 1831.¹⁴¹

The Nestor of the galaxy was Raynor Taylor (1747-1825).¹⁴² He was born in England, and educated at the King's Singing School as one of the boys of the Chapel Royal.¹⁴³ After leaving the school, he was for many years established at Chelmsford as organist and music teacher. From there he was called to be the composer and director of the music at the Sadler's Wells Theatre. Taylor was a ballad composer of some renown in England before he appeared in Baltimore, in October 1792, as "music professor, organist, and teacher of music in general, lately arrived from London."

In the same year he was appointed organist of St. Anne's Church, Annapolis, Maryland, but receiving no fixed salary, he found himself obliged to move, after a few months, to Philadelphia. Here, he was for many years organist of St. Peter's Church, and in 1820, influential in founding the Musical Fund Society. His compositions are numerous, and mostly of a secular character, but only his minor works have been preserved. As a specialty he cultivated burlesque musical olios, or extravaganzas, which came dangerously near being music-hall skits. This strikingly illustrates the fact that the American public of those days was not horrified by secular tendencies in an organist, outside the walls of the church.

Taylor was also famous for his powers of improvisation. The old organ erected by Philip Feyring at St. Peter's in 1763 was thought to be too large and took up too much room. After ten years, there was agitation for its removal,¹⁴⁴ but nothing was done apparently until 1789, when the present gallery over the chancel at the east end of the church was built, and the organ moved there.¹⁴⁵ Four years later, Raynor Taylor came to St. Peter's as organist, and his fine playing of the large Feyring organ, renovated and in its new location, must have astonished and delighted the congregation. This organ remained there until 1815, when it was supplanted by a new one,¹⁴⁶ perhaps owing to Taylor's initiative. Dying in 1825, he too was buried in the yard at St. Peter's, and the white marble stone that marks his grave bears this legend:

In Memory of Rayner (*sic*) Taylor, A distinguished Professor of Music, and many years Organist of St. Peter's Church, who

¹⁴¹Bronson, *Inscriptions in St. Peter's Church Yard*, 375.

¹⁴²Madeira, *op. cit.*, 51.

¹⁴³Parker, *A Musical Biography*.

¹⁴⁴Dorr, *op. cit.*, 175, 199.

¹⁴⁵Dorr, *op. cit.*, 214-215.

¹⁴⁶Dorr, *op. cit.*, 224.

died August 17th, 1825, in the 78th year of his age. This tribute of respect is erected by the Musical Fund Society of Philadelphia.¹⁴⁷

By far the most provocative figure of this distinguished group of professional musicians was Benjamin Carr (1769-1831). He was connected with the "London Ancient Concerts" before he emigrated to New York early in 1793, where he immediately began his career as a music dealer and publisher. He did not long remain there, for we find him establishing a similar business in Philadelphia in July 1793,¹⁴⁸ which was carried on some time after 1800 in partnership with George Schetky. Carr was a favorite of the American public as a ballad singer, and tried the operatic stage with some success in 1794. But his career as organist, pianist, concert manager, composer, and publisher was of far greater importance for the development of musical life in Philadelphia. In fact he had few, if any, rivals in this respect. His compositions, both sacred and secular, are numerous. He tried his hand successfully at almost every branch of composition. He was a thoroughly trained composer of the Karl Philipp Emanuel Bach school, and his works are distinguished by a pleasing softness of line. Carr stands out as the most vigorous force for the best musical culture of his day. Coming to Philadelphia in 1793, after a thorough musical education under the first Church musicians of England, a man of breeding and broad culture, Carr and his circle started the movement which gave Philadelphia such a striking musical development in those days, when the country and the art on this side of the water were in their infancy.

While the activities of Carr and most of his circle lie principally in the first quarter of the 19th century, they had their beginning in the 18th, and were well under way by the dawn of the new century. Carr took charge of the music of St. Augustine's Roman Catholic Church when it was opened in June 1801, and afterwards performed there portions of Handel's *Messiah* and Haydn's *Creation*. Later he succeeded Raynor Taylor as organist of St. Peter's Church, and published for the use of that church a small book entitled:

The Chorister, a Collection of Chants and Melodies Adapted to the Psalms and Hymns of the Episcopal Church. Selected, Composed, Arranged, and respectfully inscribed to the Ladies and Gentlemen forming the Choral Association of St. Peter's Church. By Benjamin Carr. Philadelphia. Published for B. Carr.

¹⁴⁷Bronson, *op. cit.*, 375.

¹⁴⁸Fisher, *One Hundred and Fifty Years of Music Publishing in the United States*, 25.

The book is only thirty-six pages long, and the copyright notice is dated July 8, 1820. It contains a number of Carr's own compositions, a hymn tune by Schetky, entitled *Edinburgh*, to "Come We That Love the Lord," and pieces by other composers.

Perhaps the one composition by which Benjamin Carr is known to later generations of churchmen is his hymn tune called *Spanish Chant*, or *Spanish Hymn*, set to "Saviour When in Dust to Thee." It is really not his own composition, strictly speaking, but an arrangement by him of what he said was an old Spanish air, as a song for soprano solo, mixed quartet, and chorus. It was performed for the first time at the seventh concert of the Musical Fund Society of Philadelphia, 29 December 1824, and repeated at the eighth concert, 22 March 1825. It was published in 1826, and the title page of the 1st Edition reads:

The Spanish Hymn, arranged and composed for the concerts of the Musical Fund Society of Philadelphia by Benjamin Carr. The Air from an Ancient Spanish Melody. Printed from the condensed score of the Society and presented to the composer as a tribute of respect and regard by some of the members and friends. Philad: 1826. G. E. Blake, Printer.

At the time of Carr's death, this tribute appeared in a newspaper:¹⁴⁹

Mr. Benj. Carr

One of the friends of the late Mr. Carr asks leave to appropriate lines of the Gazette to a simple tribute to his memory.

Mr. Carr was known as a patriarch among the professional musicians of our country, a pupil of Samuel Wesley, his compositions were of a school which has left few professors of the present day, even in Europe,—abounding in feeling, rich in harmony, without ambitious display, but commending themselves to the heart and filling it.

Those who listened to his favorite *Miserere*,¹⁵⁰ as his funeral procession entered St. Peter's this afternoon, will find a ready illustration of these characteristics of his style. He was remarked in early life for his skill on the piano, and of late years for his performances on the organ. His organ voluntaries displayed the richly stored composer, and the well practiced artist. He had great facility and success as an instructor, and no one did more to chasten and refine the taste of our community.

His acquirements were not limited to his art. He had read much and judiciously, and no one remembered with more advantage all that his books could teach. His conversation was that of an elevated and elegant mind, and his occasional correspondence was a model for playfulness and grace.

¹⁴⁹Paulson's *American Advertiser*, 30 May 1831.

¹⁵⁰It is included in *The Chorister*, pp. 32-33, with this notation: "Miserere, or the 51st Psalm, as chanted in the Churches during the Season of Lent."

In his manner, he was most modest and unpretending, simple of heart as a child, thinking no evil in others, and ever careful to avoid the appearance of it in himself.

He was withal singularly benevolent and grateful, while he appropriated largely of the proceeds of his wearisome industry to the support of indigence and the relief of distress, he was forgetful of those benefits he had himself conferred.

He was warm and constant in his friendship; nor had a kind and retributive Providence left him without benefactors and friends.

Among those whose affection he would have valued the most, there were many who loved him, and who now turn back to the kind offices which it was their happy fortune to render him, as among the sweetest and most consoling of their recollections.

He was a Christian in creed and in spirit—he died in peace with all men, and with a humble confidence in the atoning merits of his Redeemer.

M. F. S.

May 26, 1831.

Carr preceded his friend and associate, George Schetky, to the grave by only a few months, and they are buried near each other in the churchyard of St. Peter's. The impression which he made upon his associates of the Musical Fund Society, of which he was a founder, is shown by the inscription on the monument which they erected there to his memory, and which seems to speak far more sincerely than is customary with the conventional language of colleagues:

Benjamin Carr, A distinguished Professor of Music, Died May 24th, 1831, Aged 62 years. Charitable, without Ostentation, Faithful and true in his friendships. With the intelligence of a man, He united the simplicity of a child. In testimony of the high esteem in which he was held, this monument is erected by his friends and associates of the Musical Fund Society of Philadelphia.¹⁵¹

We have seen that most of this brilliant galaxy of musicians centered around St. Peter's Church. While we have followed them on into the early decades of the next century, it was their coming and establishment in the closing years of the 18th century that instilled new life into the art of Church Music in the post war years, and during the difficult but important formative period of the Church. As a present day historian has well expressed it:

"Their coming hastened Euterpe's conquest of America."¹⁵²

¹⁵¹Bronson, *op. cit.*, 376.

¹⁵²Howard, *op. cit.*, 110.

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RANDOM GLEANINGS FROM THE VIRGINIA GAZETTE

*With Notes by G. MacLaren Brydon**



HE *Virginia Gazette*, published weekly at Williamsburg from 1736 until after the American Revolution, carried many news notes and advertisements from time to time that bear upon the current life of the Established Church and the people of the colony. The following extracts, gathered here and there from its columns, are published in order to give glimpses of the Church's life of that period in Virginia. In assembling these extracts it has seemed best to gather them under special headings.

The *Gazette* was established and published for many years by William Parks,¹ who built also his own paper mill on Queen's Creek near the town, where he made his own paper. In addition to the newspaper, he had his own book-store: and he published from time to time reprints

*The Rev. Dr. Brydon is historiographer of the diocese of Virginia, associate editor of *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, and author of *Virginia's Mother Church* (Richmond, Virginia Historical Society, 1947), pp. 571.—*Editor's note.*

¹WILLIAM PARKS (c. 1698-April 1, 1750) was born in England, and there began his unique record as a pioneer newspaper publisher by establishing the first journals in the towns of Ludlow and Reading—the *Ludlow Post-Man* (1719) and the *Reading Mercury* (1723).

In 1726, he arrived in Annapolis, Maryland, and in 1727 he established the *Maryland Gazette*, the first newspaper to appear in the American colonies south of Pennsylvania. From 1727 to 1737, Parks was the public printer of the province of Maryland.

In 1730, he established his press in Williamsburg, "the first printing office to be put in operation in Virginia since the inhibition in 1683 of the Jamestown press of William Nuthead." Two years later, he was appointed public printer of Virginia, a position he maintained until his death. In 1737, he gave up his Maryland business.

In 1733, Parks published at Williamsburg *A Collection of All the Acts of Assembly Now in Force in the Colony of Virginia*, "a work of historical importance, which ranks also as one of the typographical monuments of colonial America." In 1736, the *Virginia Gazette* began publication under his editorship.

"Consistently, he made definite and successful efforts to encourage local men of letters by the publication of works of purely literary intention. . . . He nurtured a native literary product in those colonies [Maryland and Virginia] at a time when most other American printers were devoting themselves to the production of works of the strictest utility."

In 1747, he published William Stith's *The History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia*.

"The typographical quality of his work was superior to that of most of his American contemporaries, and his decorated bookbindings were unsurpassed by those of other binders of colonial America." [See *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIV, 250-251.]

of English publications. These were mostly in pamphlet form, selling for a few pence apiece.

RELIGIOUS AND DEVOTIONAL LITERATURE

It is an interesting fact that the first issues of the *Gazette* in 1736 carried the advertisements of two pamphlets which Parks had printed. One of these was a medical pamphlet upon the treatment of pleurisy. The other was advertised as

Lately Published

IMMANUEL: *or The Mystery of the Incarnation of the Son of God*: Unfolded by James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh. Williamsburg. Printed and sold by William Parks. Price One Shilling.

His advertisements in the *Gazette* for the week of March 23, 1739/40 included:

The Week's Preparation to the Sacrament.

The New Version of the Psalms.

Immanuel, or The Incarnation of the Son of God.

The Church Catechism Explained by Way of Question and Answer, And Confirmed by Scripture Proof. By John Lewis. [This last item Parks had only recently republished and offered for sale.]

The Rev. George Whitefield preached in Bruton Church, Williamsburg, by special invitation of Commissary Blair, upon the occasion of the first visit of the noted evangelist to America. His preaching in Philadelphia and New York had been reported as news items in the *Gazette*, with accounts of the enormous crowds which gathered to hear him. The issue of December 14-21, 1739, gave the following account of his preaching at Bruton Church:

On Sunday morning last, the Rev. Mr. Whitfield (*sic*) preached at our Church on the words "What Think Ye of Christ?" There was a numerous congregation, and 'tis thought there would have been many more if timely Notice had been given of his Preaching. His extraordinary Manner of Preaching gains him the Admiration and Applause of most of his hearers. He is gone to Carolina on his way to Georgia, and 'tis said he intends to be here again next April or May.

In the issue of January 4-11, 1739/40, the following advertisement appears:

The Indwelling Spirit the Common Privilege of All Believers, A Sermon Preached at the Parish Church of Bexley, in Kent, on Whitsunday, June 10, 1739. By George Whitefield, A. B., of Pembroke College, Oxford. Published at the Request of the Vicar and Many of the Hearers. Printed at London, and Sold for the Benefit of the School House now Erecting for the Colliers in Kingswood, near Bristol.

And now Reprinted and Sold by William Parks at Williamsburg. Price 7½ d.

On January 19-25, 1739/40, Parks advertised two sermons of Whitefield:

This week was published the Rev. Mr. Whitefield's Sermon on *The Marks of the New Birth*. Printed and sold by William Parks, Price 7½d.

Where also might be had the Rev. Mr. Whitefield's Sermon on *The Indwelling Spirit the Common Privilege of All Believers*. Price 7½ d.

May 30-June 6, 1745:

Just Published and Sold by the Printer hereof.

The Christian's Daily Monitor, Or The Four Last Things, viz. Death, Judgment, Heaven and Hell. Being an Earnest Exhortation to a Holy Dying; with proper Directions in order to a Timely Repentance. Also Suitable Prayers and Ejaculations for Sick Persons. Price 7½d stitched in Blue Paper, or 40 Shillings per Hundred to those that desire to give them away.

March 28, 1751: James Hunter, editor and publisher succeeding William Parks, deceased, advertised:

A Short and Plain Instruction for the Better Understanding of The Lord's Supper, With the Necessary Preparation Required. By the Bishop of Sodor and Man. Sixth Edition, with Additions and Corrections throughout.

On May 24, 1751, James Hunter advertised a long column of titles of books which he had just imported and had for sale at the printing office. He listed about 170 titles, of which about 40, or nearly one-fourth, were books on religion, devotion, theology, or Church history.

June 18, 1751; George Whitefield's *Eight Sermons, Preached in*

the High-Church-Yard of Glasgow, were advertised for sale at the printing office.

March 5, 1752:

TO BE SOLD AT THE PRINTING OFFICE

A Great Variety of Bibles and Common Prayer Books of Different Sizes; Neatly Bound in Turkey and Gilt.

March 20, 1752: The following books were advertised to be sold at the printing office:

1. A SERMON Preached before the General Assembly at Williamsburg, on March 1, 1752, by William Stith, A. M. *The Sinful and Pernicious Nature of Gaming*, Published at the Request of the House of Burgesses.
2. *A Short and Plain Instruction about the Lord's Supper*, By the Bishop of Sodor and Man.
3. *The Church Catechism Explained*, 17th Edition.
4. Locke's *Essay on Human Understanding*.
5. *The Whole Duty of Man, With Private Devotions for Several Occasions*.
6. *A Practical Discourse concerning Death*, By Bishop Sherlock.

The above excerpts are given as illustrative of the publication and steady sale of religious, theological and devotional books and pamphlets at Williamsburg, along with books of medicine, science, history and general literature, throughout the whole period.

LIGHTS AND SHADOWS IN 1745

Incidental to the life of the period are the following advertisements May 30-June 6, 1745:

TO BE SOLD: On Tuesday 18th inst. at Essex Court House. A SCHOONER belonging to the Estate of the Rev. Adam Dickie, deceased. Lately Trimmed and well filled with Sails and Rigging, some part New; close-decked, carries Fifty Hogsheads of Tobacco: And a Twelve-Hogshead Flat (Boat). Lying at Hobb's Hole.

Hobb's Hole was a reach in the Rappahannock River immediately in front of Essex (County) Court House. They are both names for the

town of Tappahannock: from one point of view, as seen from the land side, it was the Court House; from the standpoint of shipping, it was Hobb's Hole. In shipping parlance, a "Hole" was a deep reach of the river, where deep water made especially favorable anchorage.

Rev. Adam Dickie came to Virginia in 1731 and was minister of Drysdale Parish, in Caroline County, until his death early in 1745. Although a clergyman could not engage in trade, he could own a ship to be leased to a merchant or mariner. He was a man of some wealth, and attempted to patent 4,400 acres of land in what is now Page County, but it was then in litigation as disputed territory, claimed by both the government of Virginia and by Lord Fairfax as part of the Northern Neck. Mr. Dickie was, therefore, unable to complete the patent, and died before the suit brought by Lord Fairfax was settled.² A letter written by him concerning Christianizing the Negroes appears in Dr. Edgar L. Pennington's *Thomas Bray's Associates, and their Work among the Negroes*.³

The issue of September 19-26, 1745, carries the advertisements of two rival wig-makers at Williamsburg, each one describing his wares and his ability "to make Wiggs according to the latest English Fashions." Each adds a postscript, as follows:

N. B. The Above Subscriber is in want of two or three Journeymen, that understand the Business of Shaving and Wig-making. Any such that are good workmen on applying to the said Finnie may depend on good encouragement. ALEXANDER FINNIE.

N. B. Whereas my honest Neighbour that has advertized for two or three Journeymen has lately seduced one from my Service in a Clandestine and Undermining Manner: Which I am well persuaded that no man but one of his principles would have done; Therefore it is hoped that one of the Number he has advertized for will come into my Service in lieu of him who was so Villainously cajoled as above: And may depend upon having good encouragement. ANDREW ANDERSON.

The years 1744 and 1745 were a period of open warfare between England and France, and their respective colonies. The weekly issues of the *Gazette* carry war news in the regular letter from London, and, during 1745, frequent reports from New England, giving account of the campaign against Cape Breton. Admiral Warren had been appointed commander-in-chief of all his majesty's ships stationed to the

²An account of this suit may be found in Kercheval's *History of the Shenandoah Valley*.

³Published in Worcester, Massachusetts, 1939.

northward of South Carolina. Then, "Reports from New England state that Admiral Warren had sailed from Boston with a force of 5,000 men to attack Cape Breton." The address of Governor William Shirley of Massachusetts is given in full in the issue of May 9-16, 1745, giving an account of the campaign against Louisburg. All the colonies in New England joined in sending their militia. He applies to New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania also.

PRIVATEERS

The trade of Virginia was seriously crippled by the swarms of privateers as well as enemy warships. In addition to the steady flow of tobacco and other products to England, the colony had a constant and growing trade with the West Indian islands, as well as coast-wise trade with the Northern colonies. The *Gazette* reports regularly the shipping news of vessels coming and going, listing for instance, in the issue of June 27-July 4, a total of eleven ships coming either from England or the West Indies, which had entered the York River in a three-weeks' period, and sixteen ships which had entered the "upper reaches" of the James River. This does not include ships that had arrived at the thriving ports of entry of Hampton and Norfolk. The effort was made to gather outgoing ships in convoys, with one or more English warships in charge; but there was a goodly number of ships carrying cargoes which were also registered as privateers, which preferred to go singly rather than in convoys. The risks were great, but the possible reward was greater; especially if as a privateer she captured an enemy ship carrying a lot of silver money.

The paper carried weekly the accounts of the success of English and colonial privateers, and per contra, the reports from London told of the number of colonial merchant ships that had been captured by French privateers. These news notes mentioned especially the money that was captured: one note from London told of a privateer which had captured a French ship which carried over £400,000 sterling. But it was of greater interest and importance, when a colonial privateer found silver or gold money: because all the colonies needed coined money sadly. The following are typical news notes:

May 19-26: News dated Philadelphia April 25. "Last week arrived here from a cruise the new Schooner *George*, William Dowell, Commander who informs that near Hainagua [*qu. Antigua?*] he spoke with Captains Bayless, Langdon and Morgan, in three New York Privateers, who had with them a

Dutch sloop, out of which they had taken 38,000 Dollars, and were carrying her to Providence to condemn her."

June 13-20: Dated Charleston, South Carolina, April 15. "Yesterday afternoon a French Privateer took (in sight of this Town) a large Brigantine that was coming in, supposed to be Capt. Drane, from Boston, with Mr. Whitefield on board."

Dated Williamsburg, June 20. "Last Friday arrived in York River, Capt. Robinson, Capt. Whiting and Capt. Crawford, from London; also a French Prize Ship loaden with Sugar and some Indigo."

June 27-July 4: Dated Williamsburg, July 4. "The French Prize Ship *Elizabeth*, mentioned in this Paper No. 464 [i. e. June 13-20] was by a decree of Court of Admiralty held on the 20th, past, condemned as lawful prize with her cargo, consisting of 284 hogsheads of sugar, 4 or 5,000 weight of Indigo, and a parcel of choice mahogany planks: the Sale whereof begins this day, and to continue till all is sold. The shares of said Prize are divided between Capt. Whiting, Capt. Crawford and Capt. Robinson. The Captain and Mate and other officers are brought up and made prisoners here."

Under Shipping News in this issue: "Entered in York River—June 14. The Ship *Banstead of London*, Robert Whiting, from London, with sundry European Goods per manifest; and a large ship laden with Sugar, Indigo, and, we hope, some Dollars; belonging to the French, taken after a warm engagement by the said Capt. Whiting, brought in and condemned as lawful Prize in York Town by the Hon. the Court of Vice-Admiralty."

November 14-21, 1745: The following advertisement: "To be Sold, a Large Sum of Money lies ready at Williamsburg to be disposed of for Bills of Exchange to be paid at the next General Court, for which 30% will be allowed, provided the Draughts are not under fifty pounds sterling. For further Information inquire of the Printer of this Paper."

One must infer from this last advertisement that some one, either owner of a privateer or his agent, who had had a successful cruise, was offering it for sale. Bills of exchange drawn on merchants in London were the only way in which Virginia could send funds outside of the colony. The usual rate of exchange at this time was 25% discount from sterling, but war conditions had carried the rate down to 30 per cent.

RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS IN 1745

The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, upon the inquiry of the Presbyterian Synod of Philadelphia, had in 1738 been formally and officially welcomed to Virginia by Governor Gooch, and had established a number of congregations in the Shenandoah Valley and in south-side Virginia. But, in the years 1743 to 1745, several ministers of the newly organized New-Side Presbyterian denomination had visited Hanover and surrounding counties, and had advertised themselves by most bitter attacks upon the doctrine, discipline and worship of the Established Church of Virginia, and, with equal vigor, upon their former brethren, the Old-Side Presbyterians. In 1745, at the spring meeting of the General Court, Governor Gooch had charged the grand jury to investigate these new ministers on two grounds: first, that they were itinerant ministers who had refused to obey the law which required them to present their credentials and register before the court; second, because of the bitterness and untruthfulness of their attacks upon the faith and worship of other denominations.⁴

The colonial authorities had constantly to be on the watch against unregistered itinerants, who might prove to be self-appointed preachers of no recognized dissenting denomination, or, as happened later in Fairfax County, Roman priests, or even impostors with fraudulent credentials. The following announcements appearing in the *Gazette* are illustrative:

June 5, 1752: WHEREAS A Person pretending to be the son of the late Reverend Dr. Trapp, and in Holy Orders, and taking upon himself the Name of Joseph Trapp, hath obtained the Liberty of Preaching in some of the Churches of this Colony: This is to give Notice to all Ministers and others that the said person is an Impostor. He is a short elderly, ill-looking man, who snuffles a little and his right name is thought to be Charles Cymie Wesly. And to prevent the like shameful impositions for the future, his Honour the Governor hereby requires all Ministers not to permit Strangers to officiate in their Churches or Chapels, without producing their Orders, and a License from the Lord Bishop of London.

By Order of the Governor.

R. WALTHOE.

March 5, 1755:

Dated Virginia, February 21, 1755

As a Person pretending to be the Son of the late Duke

⁴See an account of this movement in John Wesley Gewehr's *Great Awakening in Virginia, 1740-1790*. An account from another standpoint will appear in the second volume of the author's *Virginia's Mother Church*, now in manuscript form.

of Wirtemberg and in holy Orders, and taking upon himself the names and titles of Carolus, Ludovicus, Rudolphus, Wirtemberg Princeps, A. M., M. D., hath obtained the Liberty according to his Report, of preaching in Several Churches within this Dominion.

This is to give Notice to all Ministers and others: That the said Person is an Impostor. He is a short middle-aged Man, a most notorious Liar, and affects to speak broken English.

In order therefore to put a Stop to this and the like shameful Irregularities for the future, His Honor the Governor hereby strictly charges and commands all Ministers or in their absence the Churchwardens, not to allow a Stranger, or an Itinerant Preacher, under any Pretence whatsoever to officiate in their Churches or Chapels, unless they have previously qualified themselves as the Constitutions and Canons of the Church of England and the Law of this Colony expressly enjoin.

By order of the Governor.

N. WALTHOE, Cler. Cur.

These were not the first impostors known to have appeared in Virginia. The fact that these visiting New-Side ministers, 1743-1745, declined to register as dissenting ministers, immediately threw them under a cloud, which the bitterness of their invective against other forms of worship did much to increase.

The action of the governor in presenting them to the grand jury brought the following address from the synod of Philadelphia. It was published in the *Gazette* of November 21-28, 1745:

Dated Philadelphia, September 26, 1745.

An Address was sent by the Synod of Philadelphia to the Governour of Virginia, dated the 28th of May, last in the following terms:

"To the Honourable William Gooch, Esq. Lieutenant-Governour and Commander in Chief in and over the Colony of Virginia. etc. The Humble Address of the Synod of Philadelphia.

"May it Please Your Honour:

"The favourable acceptance which your Honour was pleased to give our former Address, and the Countenance and Protection which those of our Persuasion have met with in Virginia fill us with Gratitude: and we beg leave on this Occasion in all sincerity to express the same. It very deeply affects us to find that any that go from these Parts and perhaps assume the Name of Presbyterians, should be guilty of such Practices, such uncharitable, unchristian Expressions as are taken notice of in your Honour's Charge to the Grand Jury.

And in the mean time it gives us the greatest Pleasure that we can assure your Honour, these Persons never belonged to our Body, but are Missionaries sent out by Some, who by reason of their divisive, Censorious and Uncharitable Doctrines and practices were in May, 1741, excluded from our Synod, upon which they erected themselves into a Separate Society, and have industriously sent abroad Persons whom we judge unqualified for the Character they assume, to divide and trouble the Churches. And therefore we humbly pray, that while those who belong to us, and produce proper Testimonials, behave themselves suitably, they may still enjoy the favour of your Honour's Countenance and Protection: and praying for Divine Blessing on your Person and Government, we beg leave to subscribe ourselves May it Please your Honour,

"Your Honour's most obliged, most obedient, and most humble Servants. Signed in the Name and per Order of the Synod.

ROBERT CATHCART, Moderator."

Philadelphia Headline (continued).

"To the Very Reverend Mr. Cathcart, Moderator, and the Reverend the Presbyters of the Presbyterian Synod of Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania.

"Gentlemen:

"The Address you were pleased to send me, as a grateful acknowledgment for the Favour which Teachers of your Persuasion met with in Virginia, was very Acceptable to me, but altogether needless to a person in my Situation, because it is what by law they are entitled to.

"And in answer to your present Address intended to justify your members from being concerned in a late Outrage committed against the Purity of the Worship and the sacred Appointment of Pastors for the service of the Altar of the Established Church, which some Men calling themselves ministers were justly accused of in my charge to the Grand Jury, you must suffer me to say that it very nearly affects me; because it seems to insinuate as if I was so uncharitable as to suspect men of your Education and Profession could be guilty of unchristian expressions that can only attend to the Increase of Schism and Irreligion, which I give you my word, was far from my Thoughts. As the wicked and destructive Doctrine and Practice of Itinerant Preachers ought to be opposed and suppressed by all that have a Serious concern for Religion, and a just regard to public peace and order in the Church and State, so your Missionaries producing proper Testimonials, complying with the Laws and performing Divine Service in some certain place appropriate to that Purpose, without disturbing the Quiet

and Unity of our sacred and civil Establishments may be sure
of the Protection of Reverend Sirs, Your most Humble Servant,

WILLIAM GOOCH."

Fortunately the recently organized presbytery of the New-Side Presbyterians learned also the reason why their missionaries were ill-treated in Virginia. That presbytery sent a deputation to the governor to discuss the situation, and they immediately changed their tactics. The attacks upon the religion and worship of others ceased, and the next missionary who was sent by them to Virginia went immediately to the court and was registered as a dissenting minister. He registered four preaching points in Hanover and Henrico Counties. This new missionary was the Rev. Samuel Davies,⁵ who made for himself a notable place in the establishment of the Presbyterian Church in eastern Virginia, and in the religious life of the colony.

A VISIT FROM GEORGE WHITEFIELD

The issue of the *Gazette* for October 24-31, 1745, devotes the whole first page to three articles about the Rev. George Whitefield. One of these gives an interesting pen-picture of the evangelist, another attacks him sharply for some of his statements, and the third tells something of his preaching. Two of these articles came from Hanover County, which was the center of the newly formed New-Side Presbyterian group in the colony. They show that he was either at that time in Hanover County, or had recently visited it. Tyerman, in his *Life of George Whitefield*, mentions Whitefield's visit to Hanover County in 1746, but makes no mention of a visit in 1745. Extracts from the pen-picture are here given:

Hanover, October 12, 1745.

We have had Mr. Whitefield among us, who is beyond Controversy a wonder of a Man. He has a most easy way of delivering himself, and a great command of Words; so that when in Company, though he sometimes entertains with the trifling Incidents of his Travels, he hath, (as I am informed) so good a Knack at telling a Story that he deserves the Name of an agreeable Companion.

His Lady is likewise as affable well-bred Woman, and appears to be between thirty and forty Years of age. I was

⁵SAMUEL DAVIES (November 3, 1723-February 4, 1761) later became the fourth president of the College of New Jersey, now Princeton University, July 26, 1759, until his death. [See *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, 102-103.]

present at several of his Sermons, which he delivered off Hand with all the Graces of Action and Voice, and with all the success which an easy extempore Delivery is apt to have with such as never saw any thing like it before; or at least 'til late.

Such was the universal Attention when he preached, at Church in particular, that tho' we were very much thronged, there was nothing to interrupt him, but every now and then a Groan or a Sob from his Hearers; and sometimes a Cough, with which himself is very much troubled, that sometimes made us apprehensive that he would scarce be able to finish what he had to say to us; and which I have since heard he can hardly be prevailed with to take anything for.

One or two of his Discourses made so great an impression upon me, perhaps thro' my want of Judgment; you may be better informed by those that have more; but the one he preached at Church left various Impressions upon me. . . .

He refused I hear to preach in the Meeting-house here, and bid a man (who had a Mind to have his child baptized by him), to go to his Parish Minister. . . .

I have been informed that when he was giving (in a private Conversation) an account of his ordination, to those that were with him, he intimated "that he could not see that he had a Call to the Ministry 'til his Friends insisted very hard on him; and chiefly 'til his Bishop, who had a very great Respect for him, pressed him to take Orders, before of the Age at which Orders were usually admitted." He seems entirely void of the fear of Death, and (I am told) in order to prove that, he related "that he had been known to sing Psalms while a Blister was cutting."

These, and probably other like Expressions, which you may learn from them that heard them, exalt him in the Eyes of some, but rather lessen him in the Opinion of others. However, all in general have so much Value for him that they contributed handsomely towards his travelling Expenses; some putting in Gold and others Silver, according to their several Abilities; the Collection being made without his solicitation: and if he is as sincere as he seemed to be, he deserves to be rewarded for his Pains. For "he that Labours in the Gospel must live by the Gospel."

I am, Sir,

Your most humble Servant, etc.

[No signature.]

CALLING ALL SCOTTISH HIGHLANDERS. THE '45.

The news of the rebellion of the Scottish Highlanders in 1745, in the effort to place the Young Pretender, Prince Charles Stuart, upon the throne of Great Britain, caused a great deal of concern and some

uneasiness in Virginia. This was because of the uncertainty as to how far Jacobite sympathy had extended among the many thousand Scots, scattered through eastern Virginia. This uneasiness was shown by the calling together of the General Assembly into a sudden session, a proclamation for a day of prayer and fasting, and by the number of articles appearing in the issues of the *Gazette* emphasizing the danger of interference with free Protestant worship if the Young Pretender should come to the throne and seek to reintroduce the Roman Catholic worship.

The first suggestion of rebellion appeared in a news item in the issue of October 3-10, 1745:

Dated Edinburgh, August 27th. "We are impatient for some news which may be depended on from the Highlands; yet little of certainty as to the number of Clans in Arms, has arrived. A gentleman reports they are about 1,500 or 2,000. That they have money hitherto in plenty, and talked big about their Designs. However it is thought Gen. Cope will reach them by Thursday next. It is said positively that they have no cannon."

Later news told of the march of the Highlanders with steadily increasing reinforcements into England, and their approach toward London; and anxiety became steadily greater in Williamsburg.

The issue of January 9-16, 1745/6, carried the proclamation of the governor, and the call of the commissary for a gathering of the clergy:

Proclamation by the Lieutenant-Governor, calling for a Day of General Fast and Humiliation, on February 26th, 1745/6.

"Whereas a wicked and horrid Rebellion has been raised against our Sovereign Lord King George, his Crown and Government, It is Ordered by the Governor, with the advice of his Majesty's Council, that WEDNESDAY, the 26th Day of February next be observed as a General Fast and Humiliation before Almighty GOD in a most Devout and Solemn Manner, by our Prayers and Supplications for obtaining Pardon for our Sins, for Averting those heavy Judgments we have justly deserved, and imploring the Divine Blessing and Assistance on His Majesty's Arms against all his Enemies, Foreign and Domestic, in a more especial Manner against the Pretender, and all his adherents, and for restoring and perpetuating Peace, Safety and Prosperity, to our only Rightful and Lawful Sovereign, King GEORGE."

Address to the Reverend Clergy of Virginia, by the Commissary, William Dawson.

REVEREND BRETHREN :

Wednesday the 26th of February next being the Day appointed by Authority for a General Fast and Humiliation, in order to obtain of Almighty God Pardon for our Sins, and to implore the Divine Blessing and Assistance on His Majesty's Arms against the Attempts of his Enemies, both Foreign and Domestic :

Let us in our Discourses suited to that Solemn Occasion, earnestly inculcate upon our Hearers a firm Adherence to our most Gracious Sovereign King George, duly considering the great Difference between the just Administration of a Protestant Prince, and the arbitrary Will of a Popish Pretender. Under such a Despotick Power, should it prevail, (which Heaven avert!) Life, Liberty and Fortune would be precarious. But our most Excellent Constitution, both in Church and State, happily secures to us every Thing that is dear and Valuable; the Welfare of our Country, and the interest of our Reformed Religion, equally distant from Superstition on the one hand, and Enthusiasm on the other. May these sacred and civil Rights be transmitted through our King and his Royal Issue down to our latest Posterity in a prosperous and flourishing condition!

Give me leave to add, that waiving other important Considerations I am particularly obliged, in compliance with an express Direction of our Right Reverend Diocesan, to take all proper Opportunities, (and can any be more proper than this?) of recommending to you a loyal and dutiful Behaviour towards the present Government, Vested in His Majesty, King George, and established in the Illustrious House of Hanover: and that you pay all due Submission and Respect to the Governor sent by him, as well in regard to his Commission and Character as to enjoy his Favour and Protection to the Church and Clergy. And, it being thought a Duty incumbent upon you at this critical Juncture unanimously to join in an humble Address to his Majesty, and the Governor, I must desire you to meet me at Williamsburg for that Purpose on Thursday the Sixth of March ensuing. And am

Your most Affectionate Brother

WILLIAM DAWSON.

Williamsburg, January 15, 1745/6.

"BURNT IN THE HAND"

The plea of Benefit of Clergy was commonly used in the Virginian courts until after the Revolution. It could only be pled once by any person, and when granted, served to remit the penalty for the felony of which he had been found guilty. In a period of harsh laws, it served

remittance of penalty to a first offender. When originally established in England, it could only be used by priests and monks, but later on its benefits were extended to every male person who could read the Bible. Still later, during the reign of Queen Anne, its benefits were extended to certain classes of women. In Virginia during the eighteenth century, it was extended to both men and women, and to slaves as well as freemen. The only requirements were that the person should be a baptized Christian, and could read sufficiently to read a verse from the Bible. The first verse of the fifty-first Psalm was so constantly handed to the prisoner to read that it was sometimes called "The Neck Verse." Each person who was granted the Benefit of Clergy was burnt in the hand with a hot iron, so that the resultant scar might always show that he had once received it.

Upon many occasions the *Gazette*, in publishing the news of Williamsburg, reported the cases that had been tried in the General Court, which was the highest court in the colony, and the only one with power to sentence a freeman to death. The following news items are typical:

May 9, 1751: Cases were tried in the General Court at this session and received the following sentences.

Law Jackson, Counterfeiting, Guilty; sentenced to die.	
John Hill, Horse Stealing. Guilty. Sentenced to die.	
Thomas Smith for Manslaughter	
John Ashwell for felony	} Were Burnt in the Hand
John Birk " "	
Joseph Markham " "	

December 12, 1751: Cases in General Court.

Day Thoroughgood, from Augusta. Murder. Death.

Peter Edeman, Northumberland. Felony. Death.

John Flory, from Culpeper, Manslaughter. Burnt in the Hand.

James Graitmor, from King George. Felony. Burnt in the Hand.

Josiah Harper and	} From Norfolk. Felony. } Burnt in the Hand.
Christopher Game	

Similar news items appear in later years.

A LOTTERY, TO BUILD A CHURCH

The following advertisement appears in the *Gazette* for March 21, 1750/1, and regularly thereafter:

THE SCHEME OF A LOTTERY AT BELHAVEN, IN FAIRFAX COUNTY

The Money arising therefrom to be applied towards Building a CHURCH and MARKET-HOUSE in the said Town.

To consist of Eight Thousand Tickets at Two Pieces of Eight each Ticket; whereof Two Thousand are to be Fortunate.

<i>Number of Prizes</i>	<i>Value of each</i>	<i>Total Value in Pieces of Eight</i>
1	500	500
1	400	400
1	300	300
2	200	400
4	100	400
6	75	450
8	65	520
14	40	560
18	35	530
25	20	500
40	16	640
100	10	1,000
250	5	1,250
1,530	4	6,120
Prizes, 2,000	First Drawn	12
Blank 6,000	Last drawn	18
8,000		13,600
Tickets at two Pieces of eight each	Pieces of Eight 16,000	From which deduct 15% for the Public Use 2,400
		16,000

The fortunate ones are to receive their Prizes entire; the Fifteen Per cent being deducted from the whole Sum produced by the sale of Tickets before the Drawing begins.

The Lottery is to be under the Care and Management of Col. George William Fairfax, Major Lawrence Washington, Col. William Fitzhugh, Mr. George Mason, Mr. William Ramsay, Mr. John Carlyle, Mr. John Daker, Mr. John Pagan, Mr. Gerrard Alexander, Mr. Nathaniel Chapman, and Major Augustine Washington, who will dispose of the Tickets and be on oath and give bond for the faithful discharge of their Trust.

The Drawing to be held on the Last Tuesday in May next, in the said Town.

N. B. All Prizes not called for within Twelve Months after the Drawing is finished will be deemed as generously given for the same use as the 15 per cent and not to be demanded afterwards, but shall be faithfully applied thereto.

In spite of the notable names appearing in the list of managers of this lottery, it for some reason did not win public favor, and rumors began to spread to the effect that the prizes when drawn would not be paid. The managers found it necessary to call attention, in an advertisement in the *Gazette*, to these rumors, and gave their assurance

that all prizes would be paid promptly. But this did not check the rumors nor increase the sale of tickets: and the plan ended with the following advertisement in the issue of November 14, 1751:

The Managers of the Belhaven Lottery, finding it impossible to dispose of the Tickets in the said Lottery occasioned by severe malicious Insinuations and Reports, hereby give notice that those Persons who have bought Tickets may have their money returned by the Persons of whom they bought them.

The town of Belhaven shortly thereafter had its name changed to Alexandria, which it still bears.

A CHANGE IN THE PRAYER BOOK

In the issue of October 17, 1751:

VIRGINIA SS. By the Hon. LEWIS BURWELL, Esq. President of his Majesty's Council and Commander in Chief of the Colony and Dominion of Virginia.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS His most Sacred Majesty, at a Council held at St. James the 24th of April, has been pleased to order That in the Morning and Evening Prayer, in the Litany and in all other Parts of the Publick Service, as well in the Occasional Offices as in the Book of Common Prayer, where the Royal Family is appointed to be particularly prayed for, the following form and order should be observed, viz:

"Their Royal Highnesses, George, Prince of Wales, the Princess Dowager of Wales, the Duke, the Princesses and all the Royal Family."

And Whereas I have received His Majesty's Orders to make publication thereof in this Colony, I do command all whom it may concern to pay due Obedience thereto.

LEWIS BURWELL.

This change in the prayer for the Royal Family in the Prayer Book was made necessary by the death shortly before of Frederick, Prince of Wales, the son of George Second. Frederick's son, George, who later became King George Third, became Prince of Wales by the death of his father, and his mother became the Princess Dowager of Wales. The prayer had to be amended accordingly to meet the changed conditions. Col. Burwell was at this time the acting governor of Virginia, in the interregnum between the departure of Governor Sir William Gooch, and the arrival of the new appointee, Major Robert Dinwiddie.

CHARITY AND BENEVOLENCE

July 25, 1751—News item dated Williamsburg:

"A scheme being set on foot for erecting a Charity Working School in Talbot County in the Province of Maryland, wherein a Number of Poor Children of both Sexes are to be fed, cloathed and taught upon such a Fund as shall arise from the Charitable Contributions of pious well-disposed Persons,—and after being brought up in the Knowledge and Fear of God and inured to Useful Labour as well as fitted for Business by their School learning, are to be put out to Apprenticeships or Service as may be best to the Good of the Public and the Benefit of the children.

"The Fund started with a Charity Sermon preached by the Rev. Thomas Bacon, Rector of St. Peter's in Talbot County, which is to be sold for the benefit of the School.

"Such persons in this Colony as may be inclined to encourage this Design are requested to pay or send their Charitable Contributions to the Honourable and Reverend William Dawson, D. D., President of William and Mary College, or to the Reverend Mr. Thomas Dawson, Rector of Williamsburg. And may the Blessing of God attend the worthy Benefactors."

October 24, 1751: Advertisement.

"The Trustees and Managers for the Charity School now setting up in Talbot County, Maryland" gratefully acknowledge the receipt of charitable contributions from the following:

Peyton Randolph, Esq., His Majesty's Attorney General, for A Guinea^a

The Rev. Mr. Richard Graham, Professor of Mathematicks
in William and Mary College at Williamsburg, for 1 Pistole

The Rev. Mr. William Preston, Professor of Moral Philosophy
in ditto, for 1 Pistole

(The three last mentioned Benefactions received by the Hands
of the Hon. and Rev. Mr. Commissary Dawson.)

The Hon. and Rev. William Dawson, D. D., President of the
College, for 5 l. sterling

The Hon. John Blair, Esq., Auditor General for Virginia, 5 Guineas

^aThe values of these coins in terms of English currency, as given in *Webster's Unabridged Dictionary*, were as follows:

Guinea, the English gold coin valued at one pound and one shilling.

Pound sterling, 20 shillings.

Doubloon (Sp. Doblon), a Spanish gold coin worth about \$15 or \$16 in American currency, or a little over three pounds sterling.

Pistole, a Spanish gold coin worth one-fourth a doubloon, or about sixteen shillings.

The fact that 19 of these 27 donors gave Spanish gold coins will show how prevalent the Spanish coin was in Virginia, as in the other colonies.

Ditto, for his annual Subscription of a Guinea, of which received for the present Year,	2 Guineas
The Rev. Mr. Thomas Dawson, Rector of Williamsburg, for	3 l. - 12s. ste
A Gentleman, desiring to be unknown, for	1 Doubloon
A Lady, desiring to be unknown, for	1 Pistole
Miss Priscilla Bassett, for	1 Pistole
(The two last Benefactions received by the Hand of Mr. Thomas Dawson.)	
Dr. George Gilmer, for	2 Pistoles
A Gentleman, desiring to be unknown, for	1 Guinea
Walter King, Esq., for	2 Doubloons
The Hon. Thomas Nelson, Secretary, for	1 Doubloon
The Rev. Mr. John Camm, Rector of York-Hampton, for	1 Pistole
Warner Lewis, Esq., for	1 Doubloon
A Gentleman, desiring to be unknown, for	1 Guinea
The Hon. John Lewis, Esq., for	1 Doubloon
The Hon. William Nelson, Esq., for	5 Pistoles
The Rev. Mr. William Yates, Rector of Abingdon in Gloucester County, for	1 Pistole
The Rev. Mr. John Fox, rector of Ware, in Gloucester County for	1 Doubloon
Ralph Wormeley, Esq., for	1 Doubloon
Peter Robinson, Esq., for	2 Pistoles
Col. Francis Willis, for his annual Subscription of three Pistoles, of which he has paid for the past year,	3 Pistoles
Mrs. Willis, for	1 Doubloon
Mr. Mordecai Booth, for	2 Pistoles
Who also subscribes 1 Guinea per ann.	
Mr. John Norton, for	2 Guineas

N. B. The said School is to be opened on the first Day of December next with six Boys in a small House preparing for their reception, and will be increased as soon as a proper Building can be erected, the Plan for which is now under consideration of the Trustees.

THE FUND FOR THE RELIEF OF THE WIDOWS AND ORPHANS OF CLERGYMEN

This Fund was organized by Commissary Thomas Dawson at a convention of the clergy held on October 30, 1754.⁷ The first annual meeting was held on April 26-28, 1755, in Williamsburg. The *Gazette* gives account of it in two issues:

April 25, 1755, under Williamsburg headline:

Tomorrow being the Day appointed for the Meeting of the Trustees of the Charity for the Relief of Clergymen's Widows and Orphans, and Sunday for the Annual Sermon

⁷See a full report of this meeting in W. S. Perry, *Papers Relating to the History of the Church in Virginia*, pp. 414-426.

on that Occasion; We thought it proper to repeat the Scheme unanimously agreed to, and the Resolve made at the last Convention.

THE SCHEME

I. That every Clergyman whose Widow or Children can be benefited by this Charity shall at least annually subscribe a Pistole.

II. That the Clergy now assembled in Convention appoint six Trustees to collect and receive the said Subscriptions.

III. That a Treasurer be appointed by this Convention 'til April, 1756.

IV. That afterwards he be annually chosen by the Majority of the Subscribers present.

V. That he give proper Bond and Security to the said Meeting.

VI. That the said Trustees pay all the Money by them collected or received upon account of this Charity into the hands of the said Treasurer, as soon as they possibly can after such Receipt or Collection.

VII. That the said Treasurer keep a fair and exact account of all Monies by him received or expended, in a Book provided for that Purpose.

VIII. That the said Accounts be carefully examined and passed by the Subscribers at their next Meeting.

IX. That at the Expiration of his Office the said Treasurer pay all the Money in his Hands to the succeeding Treasurer.

X. That the Subscribers meet every Third Saturday in the April Court, at the College, the first Meeting to commence in 1755.

XI. That a Person be appointed to Preach a Sermon suitable to the Occasion every Third Sunday in the April Court.

XII. That the Present Convention appoint the first Preacher, and afterwards that he be annually appointed by the Majority of the Subscribers present.

XIII. That a Committee be appointed to wait upon the Governor for his Approbation.

XIV. That the said Trustees and Treasurer make a Collection at the Doors of the Church after the preaching of every such Sermon.

XV. That at every Meeting the Disposal and Regulation of this Charity shall be in the Power of the Majority of the Subscribers present.

XVI. That the Explanation and Alteration of any of these Articles or the Addition of new ones shall be in the Power of the majority of the Subscribers present.

RESOLVED, That Mr. Commissary Dawson, Mr. John Camm, Mr. William Robinson, Mr. William Preston, Mr. Thomas Warrington and Mr. William Davis be appointed the first Trustees.

RESOLVED, That Mr. Chicheley Thacker be appointed the first Treasurer.

RESOLVED, That Mr. Commissary Dawson be appointed to preach the first Sermon.

May 2, 1755: News item, Williamsburg.

At a Meeting of the Trustees and Subscribers, etc. April 28, 1755, according to the Scheme which was republished in the last *Gazette*, "for raising a Fund for the Relief of the Widows and Children of such Subscribing Clergymen who should die and leave their Families in distressed Circumstances," the Trus-

tees etc., met on Saturday the 26th, and on Sunday the 27th the Rev. Mr. Commissary Dawson preached an excellent Sermon suitable to the Occasion, after which was collected by the Trustees, £32 - 7 - 6. This together with the Subscriptions then paid in amounted to the sum of £63 - 3 - 4, which was lodged in the hands of Mr. Commissary Dawson, 'til the Health of Mr. Chicheley Thacker their Treasurer will permit him to come to town; to whom it will be paid according to the 6th Article. And who is to let it out to Interest upon good Security, so soon as he conveniently can.

In order to this, those Clergymen who did not send in their Subscriptions are earnestly desired to do so as soon as possible, that the whole, which will amount to about £100, may be put out together, and the Interest applied to the use of the said Fund; that it may in Time be sufficient to discharge the several Demands which are likely to be made upon it.

How necessary such a Fund as this is must appear from the several provisions of this Kind made in almost all Ages and Countries. And if Persons whose Families are too well provided for to need any such assistance, and those who have no Connexion with the Clergy except that Friendship Esteem and Regard which their Function claims from all Mankind, would be pleased to encourage and protect it, they will receive the most sincere Thanks of those whose Sense of Gratitude is heightened by their Education; which Thanks are heartily given to the present generous Contributors.

By Order of the Trustees and Subscribers.

WILLIAM PRESTON, Secretary

Names of Persons to receive Benefactions:

The Rev. Mr. Thacker, Treasurer	
(Mr. Com. Dawson, ^s Mr. T. Warrington,)	
The Reverend (Mr. Wm. Robinson, Mr. Wm. Preston,)	Trustees
(Mr. John Camm, Mr. Musg. Dawson.)	

The *Gazette* reported regularly the annual meetings down to, and even during the Revolution. The following report made of the meeting in 1771 is typical:

^sOf the clergymen mentioned in this list:

Rev. THOMAS DAWSON was commissary of the bishop of London, and member of the council of state; rector of Bruton Parish. Died 1761.

Rev. WILLIAM ROBINSON, rector of Stratton-Major Parish in King and Queen County. Succeeded Thomas Dawson as commissary. Died 1768.

Rev. JOHN CAMM, professor of divinity in William and Mary College, and rector of York-Hampton Parish in York County. Became president of the college and commissary in 1772. He declined to take the oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth of Virginia, and was deprived of all his offices in 1777.

Rev. THOMAS WARRINGTON was minister of Charles Parish in York County. Went to Elizabeth City Parish in 1756 and died in 1770. He and John Camm

VIRGINIA GAZETTE, May 9, 1771: Advertisement.

The Treasurer and Trustees and Subscribers to the Fund for the Relief of the Widows and Orphans of Clergymen met on the 4th Instant, according to Appointment, and made Collections at the Church on the Day following; from whence they received the Sum of Sixty-five Pounds, nine Shillings, which they cannot reflect upon without a deep sense of the Obligation they are under to the bountiful Contributors. The Sum ordered before the Meeting broke up on the sixth to be distributed among six Widows and several Orphans, is sixty Pounds and fifteen Shillings.

The Officers appointed are the Rev. John Camm, Treasurer, the Reverend Robert Barret, Thomas Price, Alexander Cruden, Samuel Klug, William Dunlap, and Price Davies, Trustees. Matthew Maury Preacher in the Morning, and William Bland Preacher in the Afternoon.⁹

By Order,

JACOB BRUCE, Clerk.

both brought suits against their vestries for balance of salary in the Parsons' Cause.

Rev. WILLIAM PRESTON was professor of moral philosophy in the college, and minister of James City Parish at Jamestown. Returned to England in 1757.

Rev. MUSGRAVE DAWSON, a younger brother of Commissaries William and Thomas Dawson, was minister of St. Mary's Parish, Caroline County, from 1751 until his death in 1762.

Rev. CHICHELEY THACKER was rector of Blissland Parish, in New Kent and James City Counties. In 1738, as chaplain of the House, he preached a sermon before the House of Burgesses in defense of the Christian faith, which was ordered by that body to be published at public expense and distributed through the counties "for the comfort of Christians against the groundless objections to the Divinity and Dignity of the Blessed Jesus." He died in 1763.

⁹Of the clergymen mentioned in this list of 1771:

Rev. ROBERT BARRET was minister of St. Martin's Parish, Hanover and Louisa Counties, from 1738 until his death about 1787.

Rev. THOMAS PRICE was minister of Abingdon Parish in Gloucester County, from 1763 to 1778. While actively loyal to the American cause during the early years of the Revolution, he was one of four clergymen who, when the British overran the colony in 1781, returned to British loyalty, and were captured with Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown. They were forced to leave the Commonwealth.

Rev. ALEXANDER CRUDEN was minister of South Farnham Parish in Essex County, from 1752 to 1776. He refused to take the oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth, and returned to England in that year. The vestry of the parish inserted the following advertisement in the *Virginia Gazette* for July 26, 1776:

"The Parish of South Farnham, in Essex County, being now vacant by the Abdication of Alexander Cruden, the late incumbent, the Vestry would be glad that such Clergymen as are desirous of settling in the said Parish would offer themselves as soon as possible that they might judge of their Pretensions, and the Cure not remaining long unsupplied."

Rev. SAMUEL KLUG was rector of Christ Church Parish, Middlesex County, from 1768 until his death in 1795. His father was the Rev. George Samuel Klug, pastor of the German Lutheran Hebron Church, in what is now Madison County, Virginia, who educated his son for the Anglican ministry.

Rev. WILLIAM DUNLAP was rector of Stratton-Major Parish, King and Queen

AN UNUSUAL APPEAL

Aquia Church, about thirteen miles north of Fredericksburg on U. S. Route 1, is one of the most beautiful and most interesting of the colonial church buildings now standing. It is still the parish church of Overwharton Parish, which dates from before 1680. The present building was completed in 1757. It is the second or third building upon the same location. The parish vestry had determined to erect a new church as early as 1751, and had let the contract to Mourning Richards, Undertaker. Then calamity overcame him and it. He tells about it in an advertisement which he placed in the *Gazette*, for May 16, 1755.

To All Charitable and Well Disposed Christians.

Mourning Richards most humbly represents

That in the Year 1751 he contracted with the Vestry of Overwharton Parish in the County of Stafford to build a very large and beautiful Church, near Aquia Creek, for 111,000 Pounds of Tobacco, Which Building he carried on with all possible Diligence, and made sundry Alterations and Additions at the Request of the Vestry, who proposed paying him for so doing, 20,000 pounds of Tobacco more than the first Contract. That he had got the Church in such Forwardness that he should have been able to have delivered the same to the Vestry in a short Time, and then was to receive the Balance of his Tobacco, having received only 75,000 Pounds.

But on the 17th Day of February last, while he was absent on his necessary Business, the whole Building was accidentally Consumed by Fire; which had reduced him and his Family to very great Distress, he being utterly unable to rebuild the said Church. And therefore prays your Aid and Assistance.

I Know the above Facts to be True.

PETER HEDGMAN.

Peter Hedgman was one of the vestrymen of the parish at that time. There seems to be no record of what effect his appeal had, but in some

County, 1768 to 1779. He was chaplain of the Second Virginia Regiment of militia for a few months in 1776. He married Deborah, a sister of Benjamin Franklin.

Rev. PRICE DAVIES was minister of Blissland Parish in New Kent and James City Counties, 1763 to 1792.

Rev. MATTHEW MAURY was rector of Fredericksville Parish, Albemarle County, from 1770 to 1808. He was an uncle of Matthew Fontaine Maury, the "Pathfinder of the Seas."

JACOB BRUCE may probably be identified with the Rev. John Bruce, who received the King's Bounty for the expenses of his journey to Virginia as a clergyman in 1775. This Rev. John Bruce was clerk of the Widows' and Orphans' Fund, as reported in the *Gazette* for March 28, 1777. This John Bruce was one of the four clergymen who returned to British allegiance in 1781, and were forced to leave the Commonwealth after being captured with Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown.

way he was enabled to rebuild and complete the church. As stated on a tablet within the building, it was erected by Mourning Richards, and completed in 1757.

HELP FOR MONTREAL

Advertisement, in issue of July 21, 1768, in (Rind's) *Virginia Gazette*.¹⁰

Williamsburg, July 11, 1768

Whereas by a letter from Montreal, signed by two of the principal Magistrates of that place, I am informed of a most destructive fire which happened there on the 11th of April last, which has reduced to ashes a Convent inhabited by nuns, and eighty-eight dwelling houses. By this melancholy event above a hundred families are drove to the greatest distress. And what adds to their misfortune is that that part of the town which escaped this disaster was destroyed by the great conflagration in May, 1765; whereby they are disabled from affording any tolerable degree of assistance to the present unhappy sufferers. They thankfully commemorate the generosity of Virginia on that deplorable occasion, and humbly supplicate our farther aid towards relieving them under their lamentable condition.

Our late worthy Governor made a collection for them on the former occasion;¹¹ in imitation of whom, and by the advice of the Council, I do earnestly entreat the Ministers of every parish to appoint some Sunday to make such collection, and to preach a sermon suitable to the occasion.

I have delayed this application some time, in expectation of a more particular account of their loss, which is promised. But as their pitiable situation requires the speediest relief, I was unwilling any longer to defer laying their moving case before the public. I desire the Ministers and Church Wardens will contrive their collections to me by safe hands as soon as may be, that I may convert them into bills of exchange, to be remitted for this charitable purpose.

¹⁰From 1766 to 1776, there were two newspapers published in Williamsburg, each one bearing the name *Virginia Gazette*. It is, therefore, necessary to mention the name of the publisher in order to identify the respective newspapers. The older was published by Purdie and Dixon, the newer by William Rind.

¹¹This earlier appeal appears in the *Gazette* of August 1, 1766. In that issue, Governor Fauquier asked help for the "sufferers in Mount Real, Canada, from a disastrous Fire." He recommended that the clergy preach on this subject, and that the wardens in each church take up a collection. His reports, given in detail in succeeding issues, shows a response totaling £221, current money, given for that purpose.

A particular account of such donations as shall come to my hands will be published in the *Gazettes*.

JOHN BLAIR.¹²

Advertisement, in the *Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), October 27, 1768:

The President begs that the remaining Clergymen would hasten their collection for the sufferers by fire at Montreal, as he has as yet received only the following articles, viz:¹³

1768		£	s.	d.
Aug. 17,	Bruton Parish, Mr. Horrocks	17	—	18 — 10½
23,	North Farnham, in Richmond	3	—	0 — 0
23,	Norfolk, Mr. Davis, per Mr. Hutchings,	13	—	0 — 0
Sept. 3,	Stratton-Major, in two collections,	15	—	15 — 4½
27,	Hampton, per Col. Cary,	5	—	16 — 10½
Oct. 12,	Spotsylvania, Mr. Marye, (5s bad)	20	—	12 — 5
19,	Surry, Mr. MacRae,	14	—	7 — 1
19,	St. Margret's Lower Church, (5s bad)	6	—	18 — 9½
		97	—	9 — 6¼

This advertisement is unsigned, but obviously "the President" means Col. John Blair, the president of the Council, and as such, the acting

¹²Col. John Blair, a nephew of Commissary Blair, was president of the council of state, and as such was acting governor of the colony in the interregnum between the death of Gov. Fauquier and the arrival of Lord Botetourt (pronounced Bot-e-tot).

¹³The following parishes and their ministers appear in this first list of 1768: Bruton Parish, Williamsburg, Rev. Commissary James Horrocks, rector.

North Farnham Parish in Richmond County, Rev. William MacKay, incumbent, 1754-74.

Norfolk, Mr. Davis, was Elizabeth River Parish, Norfolk County, Rev. Thomas Davis, minister in 1763-68. It is of interest that this Thomas Davis was succeeded in 1773 by another minister of the same name. This second Thomas Davis became chaplain of the First Continental Dragoons, and was captured by the British in 1779. He later became rector of Christ Church, Alexandria, in 1792, and officiated at the funeral of Gen. George Washington in 1799.

Stratton-Major Parish, King and Queen County, William Dunlap.

Hampton is in Elizabeth City Parish. Its minister at that time was Rev. Thomas Warrington.

St. George's Parish, Spotsylvania County, Rev. James Marye, rector, from 1767 until his death in 1780.

Surry, Mr. MacRae, Southwark Parish, Surry County: Rev. Christopher MacRae, rector, 1766-72.

St. Margaret's, Lower Church: St. Margaret's Parish, Caroline County. The name of the incumbent in 1768 is not known. Rev. Archibald Dick was rector in 1773, and may have been as early as 1768.

¹⁴The error shown in the addition of the pence column appears in the *Gazette*, and is here copied therefrom.

governor of Virginia in the interregnum between the death of Lt. Governor Fauquier and the arrival of his successor, Lord Botetourt.

Issue of November 17, 1768, (Rind's) *Gazette*:

Advertisement. Williamsburg, November 14, 1768.

WHEREAS by the advice of the Council, I published an advertisement the 21st of July last notifying the loss the inhabitants sustained by fire at Montreal, in which it was recommended to the Ministers to preach proper Sermons on the occasion, and to the Church Wardens to make collections. In consequence thereof I have received the following sums, viz:¹⁵

	£		s.		d.
Charles Parish, Mr. Davenport,	3	—	0	—	4
Lunenburg Parish per Mr. Garland,	12	—	1	—	3 3/4
St. John's, King William, Mr. Skyring	13	—	5	—	0
Bath, Dinwiddie,	18	—	18	—	2
St. David's, King William, Mr. White,	6	—	15	—	8
Gloucester,	4	—	5	—	3
Lynhaven, Princess Anne,	7	—	9	—	3 1/2
Kingston, Gloucester, Mr. Dixon,	3	—	2	—	0
Surry, a farther Collection,	1	—	5	—	0
Received as per my former advertisement,	97	—	9	—	6
	167	—	11	—	6

All Church Wardens that have made collections in their respective parishes are desired to pay them in, and in those parishes where collections have not already been made it is again recommended to the Ministers and Church Wardens that they be assisting in this charitable work and contrive their collections to me as soon as possible, that I may convert them into bills of exchange, to be remitted for the relief of these poor

¹⁵The following appear on this second list of 1768:

Charles Parish, York County, Rev. Joseph Davenport, rector, 1757 until his death in 1785. He was appointed in 1776 by the House of Burgesses a member of a commission to select places for making salt on the shores of the Chesapeake Bay.

Lunenburg Parish, Richmond County, Rev. Isaac William Giberne, minister, 1762-95.

St. John's Parish, King William County, Rev. Henry Skyring (Skyring), minister, 1767-87. A noted preacher in his day.

Bath Parish, Dinwiddie County: Rev. Devereux Jarratt was its rector from 1763 to 1801. A noted pioneer evangelical churchman. [See E. C. Chorley, *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, V, 47-64.]

St. David's Parish, King William County, Rev. Alexander White, minister, from 1748 until his death in 1776.

Gloucester probably means Gloucester Point, in Abingdon Parish, Rev. Thomas Price, minister.

Lynhaven Parish, Princess Anne County, Rev. Robert Dickson, minister, 1748 until his death in 1776.

Kingston Parish, Gloucester County (now Mathews County), Rev. John Dixon, minister, 1750-70.

people. A particular account of all such collections as shall come to my hands will be published in the *Gazettes*, and conclude with a list of all such from whom I have received nothing.

JOHN BLAIR.

Advertisement, (Rind's) *Virginia Gazette*, March 16, 1769:

Williamsburg, March 1, 1769

Since my last publication, on November 17, 1768, I can now acknowledge my having received the following collections for the Sufferers at Montreal, Viz:¹⁶

1768	St. Mary's in Caroline, Omitted before,	9	—	12	—	0
Nov. 21	St. Bride's in Norfolk,	6	—	0	—	0
Dec. 9,	James City Parish, Mr. Bland,	6	—	12	—	6
Jan. 7,	Sussex Parish, Mr. Willie (20 sh. bad.)	12	—	02	—	0
	9, Blissland, Mr. Davis,	3	—	16	—	9
	16, Wicomico, Mr. Leland,	10	—	14	—	0
	21, Suffolk in Nansemond, Mr. Agnew,	4	—	17	—	5
	21, Westover, Charles City, per Mr. Speaker,	3	—	10	—	1¾
Feb. 11,	Bristol Parish, Mr. Harrison,	12	—	00	—	9
	13, Mr. Davis, Lower Church,	5	—	08	—	0
	21, York-Hampton Parish, per Col. Digges,	11	—	15	—	4¼
		86	—	09	—	0
My former receipts as advertised,		167	—	11	—	6
		254	—	00	—	6

¹⁶The following appear on the third list (March, 1769):

St. Mary's Parish, Caroline County, Rev. Jonathan Boucher, 1764 until after 1770, when he went to Maryland. [See E. C. Chorley, in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, X (1941), 163-175.]

St. Bride's Parish, Norfolk County: No minister listed in 1768.

James City Parish, James City County, the Jamestown Parish: Rev. William Bland, minister, 1767-77.

Sussex Parish was Albemarle Parish, Sussex County, Rev. William Willie, minister from 1739 until his death in 1776. Acting commissary in 1771.

Blissland Parish, New Kent and James City Counties, Rev. Price Davies, minister.

Wicomico Parish, Northumberland County, Rev. John Leland, Sr., minister from 1745 to c. 1776.

Suffolk Parish, Nansemond County, Rev. John Agnew, minister from 1754 to 1775. Was ejected from his parish in 1775 for royalist sympathies and actions. Became chaplain on a British ship, and was captured by American forces and sent to France.

Westover Parish, Charles City County, Rev. William Davis, minister, 1758-1773. In 1751 (March 31), he baptized James Madison, future president of the United States.

Bristol Parish, Dinwiddie County, Rev. William Harrison, minister, 1762-80.

On the 22nd of December last £150 bill cost me £187 — 10sh, and per next post I wrote to the Magistrates at Montreal, desiring their directions whom to pay it to, but have yet received no answer. I therefore advertise it here, and shall write again. The Gentlemen of the Clergy who have not yet made any collection for the sufferers by fire at Montreal, are earnestly requested to give the benevolent an opportunity by making their collections, though ever so small, so as to transmit them in April, or by the Burgesses, as I shall then close my account, and I hope with but a small list of those from whom I then shall have heard nothing.

JOHN BLAIR.

Advertisement, in the *Virginia Gazette* (Rind's), July 6, 1769:

Williamsburg, June 29, 1769

The fourth and last publication of the Collections received for the sufferers at Montreal, Viz:¹⁷

	£	s.	d.
St. Thomas Parish, in Orange, (12s-6d bad)	12	—	7 — 0
Tillotson, in Buckingham,	5	—	1 — 3
St. Paul's in Stafford,	5	—	0 — 0
Suffolk, in Nansemond,	3	—	9 — 0
Northampton,	22	—	4 — 11

He was one of the four ministers who turned to the British side in 1781, and were captured at Yorktown. Cornwallis appointed him chaplain of the British garrison at Gloucester Point in August, 1781. After his capture, he was ordered to be tried for high treason, but was permitted to leave the Commonwealth.

Mr. Davis, Lower Church, is hard to identify.

York-Hampton Parish, York County, Rev. John Camm, rector, 1749-1771.

¹⁷Parishes and clergymen on this fourth and last list are:

St. Thomas Parish, Orange County, Rev. Thomas Martin, minister, from 1768 until his death in 1770.

Tillotson Parish, Buckingham County: minister in 1768-9, not recorded.

St. Paul's Parish, Stafford County (now King George County), Rev. William Stuart, rector, 1749 to 1790.

Northampton, was Hungar's Parish, Northampton County, Rev. Richard Hewitt, minister, 1761 until his death in 1774.

King George County had two parishes: Hanover Parish, Rev. Thomas Landrum, 1765-71; and Brunswick Parish, Rev. John Wishart, 1764-74.

Brandon Church is Martin's-Brandon Parish, Prince George County, Rev. Alexander Finney, minister, 1724-70.

Cornwall Parish, Charlotte County: incumbent in 1768-9, not recorded.

Dale Parish, Chesterfield County: minister in 1768-9, not recorded.

St. Patrick's Parish, Prince Edward County, Rev. James Garden, minister, from 1755 until his death in 1773.

Accomack County has two parishes: Accomack and St. George's. John Lyon was minister of St. George's from 1769 until after the Revolution.

Newport Parish, Isle of Wight County, Rev. John Milner, minister, 1766 to 1770.

NOTE: The data concerning ministers of parishes here given is taken from the biographical list in E. L. Goodwin's *Colonial Church in Virginia* (Milwaukee and London, 1927), pp. 245-342, and other records in the Virginia Diocesan Library.

King George,	5	—	10	—	0
Brandon (church), in Prince George,	3	—	12	—	6
Cornwall, in Charlotte,	3	—	2	—	6
Dale, in Chesterfield, (15s bad)	15	—	15	—	0
St. Patrick, in Prince Edward,	8	—	8	—	4
Accomack,	9	—	10	—	0
Newport, in Isle of Wight,	14	—	2	—	0
<hr/>					
My former receipts as advertised,	108	—	2	—	6
	254	—	0	—	6
<hr/>					
Found bad at paying away,	£362	—	3	—	0
	1	—	6	—	3
<hr/>					
By a Bill of £150 sterling at 25%	£360	—	16	—	9
By do of £100 " @ 22½	187	—	10	—	0
By do of £ 41 — 10 @ do.	122	—	10	—	0
	50	—	16	—	9
<hr/>					
£291 — 10 — 0 Sterling	360	—	16	—	9

JOHN BLAIR.

ENGLISH PROTESTANT ATTEMPTS AT REUNION,
1689-1710*

By John E. Baur†

IN the late 1680s several movements for a union of all English Protestants began to develop. These different efforts were not at first well organized, and even throughout their brief history, they never were united either in method or in total aim.

Nevertheless, all advocates of Protestant union did recognize, as the present observer must, the chief causes of Protestant disunion. The Established Church of England was episcopal in organization, and a considerable section of it was anti-Calvinistic, while the Presbyterians favored the presbyterian form of church government and the Independents championed congregationalism. Both the latter were predominantly Calvinistic. These chief persuasions had long disagreed on three rites of the liturgy. The Episcopalians insisted on the use of the sign of the cross in baptism, which was strongly opposed by all Calvinists. These latter forbade the wearing of the surplice by their clergy, considering it as a remnant of Romanism, but a tradition to which Anglicans clung. The Presbyterians and Independents favored the sitting posture, which, they insisted, was used by Christ himself at the Last Supper for the taking of communion, while most Anglicans felt that kneeling was the essential form.

REASONS FOR THE UNITY MOVEMENT

Why, then, in 1688, did the time seem most appropriate for an attempt to settle these historic differences in harmonious unity? Why at this time did a sudden flow of pamphlet propaganda and enthusiastic sermons issue forth to support such movements? The reasons for a proposal at this time are not obscure.

The accession of William III in 1689 was a great stimulus to those

*This essay is based for the most part on pamphlet sources available in the William A. Clark Library, Los Angeles. These sources present a cross section of contemporary opinion, and reveal the course and fate of this movement. Other works which offered both background and an understanding of the movement within the period were consulted.

†John E. Baur, A. M., is editorial associate of the *Pacific Historical Review*.—*Editor's note.*

dissenters who hoped for unity, for William had been reared a Calvinist.¹ Petitions were most eagerly presented to him in 1689 by London dissenters, and the new king vaguely promised to do all in his power for unity.²

A second important motive for Protestant union was the strong anti-papal feeling left in the wake of the Popish Plot and James II's reign. Many enthusiasts for comprehension attacked the divide and conquer strategy of Rome, and found Protestant collectivism the only shield against a rising popery,³ which, allegedly, was establishing monasteries openly in London. Gilbert Burnet was probably the most vivid of these depictees of Roman Catholicism as a reason for the need of religious unity. He asserted that Charles II and James II would never have attempted arbitrary action if there had been an indivisible Protestant collective security instead of jealous factions played against one another for the ruin of all.⁴

Shortly after the Restoration, the Presbyterians and Congregationalists had joined together in a loosely organized federation, held together by general agreements.⁵ They originally settled their differences for self-preservation against persecution, but by 1689, they entered a new plea for unity, and we shall hear more of their efforts later. Thus, their early example of success was an augmentation to the general movement.

According to the writers of the period, the general public favored accommodation of dissenters. "Never were men so full of hopes as at present, that it cannot be long ere the Kingdom of Our Lord shall be advanced in the world," said one avid propagandist.⁶ Another optimist stated: "Protestants of all persuasions seem to be desirous of it [unity]."⁷

Occasional conformity was a minor cause of the unity movement. Many dissenters believed that by occasional conformity they did not totally separate from the Anglican Church.⁸ They agreed that communion with the Church was in itself "lawful and Good."⁹ Occasional

¹*Several Letters by French Protestants now Refug'd in Germany* (London, 1689), p. 5.

²*An Address of the Dissenting Ministers in and about the City of London to the King and Queen* (London, 1689), p. 3.

³*Several Letters by French Protestants*, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁴Gilbert Burnet, *The Ill Effects of Animositities among Protestants* (London, 1688), p. 15.

⁵*Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, James Hastings, ed. (New York, 1922), X, p. 253.

⁶*Free Thoughts Occasioned by the Heads of Agreement* (London, 1691), p. 3.

⁷John Humfrey, *The Healing Attempt: being a Representation of the Government of the Church of England* (London, 1689), p. 1.

⁸Edward Stillingfleet, *The Mischief of Separation* (London, 1680), p. 34.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 23.

conformity could, and did, in some cases, lead to return to the Established Church.¹⁰

THE ARGUMENTS AND ARGUERS FOR UNION

The chief promoters of this modern crusade were men of real note in England. Gilbert Burnet, John Tillotson, John Humfrey, and Richard Baxter were foremost.¹¹ Their arguments were varied, scholarly, and quite convincing. The chief and most universal points upon which their call was based were the similarities of all Protestants. They stressed the agreement in belief in one God, one Christ, the divinity of inspiration of the Scriptures, and their opposition to the pope's authority. A minister insisted that "our different methods of worship are attempts to please God and they ought rather to be called parts thereof than differences."¹² "We differ but in a few things in discipline and none in doctrine," agreed a "gentleman of the Middle Temple."¹³

Reformation of the Church of England, morally and as to organization, was a way to unity, suggested those whose puritanical zeal was not dulled by failure. Division had led to "atheism, doubting, and skepticism," according to several writers.¹⁴ John Humfrey, an extremely moderate churchman, wished to purge the Established Church of simony and pluralities of office, and he advised a general reconstitution of parochial churches so that the congregation might have greater weight in the local religious affairs, for he recognized the right of an individual to enter another fold if his church were not sufficiently "edifying."¹⁵ An Anglican layman, Sir Richard Cocks, censured his clergymen for acting as if they were infallible by "exact[ing] strict compliance to their articles and creeds not warranted by the Gospel." He wanted higher stipends for bishops and priests so that better men might enter God's service. These reforms, he thought, would dissolve all reasons for serious dissent.¹⁶ Even Burnet, in a pamphlet, echoed the cry that division had caused "debauchery, irreligion, and atheisme," and had "brought many both to an indiffering and unconcernedness for the

¹⁰*Free Thoughts*, op. cit., p. 15.

¹¹In the William Andrews Clark, Sr., Memorial Library, Los Angeles, one can find a good representation of the pamphlet propaganda of these men. This discussion is based upon several sources of this type found at the library.

¹²*An Expedient for Peace Amongst Christians* (London, 1689), p. 3.

¹³*The Grounds of Unity in Religion* (London, 1679), p. 6.

¹⁴Robert Grove, *A Persuasion to Communion with the Church of England* (second edition, London, 1683), p. 36.

¹⁵John Owen, *A Brief Vindication of the Non-Conformists from the Charge of Schisme* (London, 1680), p. 35.

¹⁶Sir Richard Cocks, *The Church of England Secured* (London, 1722), pp. 33-36.

Gospel . . . and have disposed them to fall in with . . . impiety and prophaneness."¹⁷

A less holy but almost as effective point was the economic foundation for unity. "Unity brings profit wherever it comes and derives a sweet propensity to all publick and private affairs of men; it gives a free commerce and communication of every good thing," a sermon advised.¹⁸ Unity, too, would keep many industrious and talented dissenters from going to America.¹⁹ It was thought that thereby trade would flourish as never before, because all Protestants would "flock over with their banks of money and manufacturies."²⁰ Thus, unity should render to Caesar as well as to God!

The nationalistic flavor of the movement was never missing. It flowed from press and pulpit as we can herein see. "We are brethren . . . as countrymen, why should there be such a strife and division between us? United we are by blood; we are kinsmen. We have been brother travellers and brethren in affliction many a time."²¹

THE OPPOSITION

There were opponents to any comprehension of English Protestants in one church, but they were less loquacious though as ardent as their adversaries. Human nature was given as an immutable source of disunity. No two parties could be expected to sacrifice enough to settle their differences. The prime problem for all collective security, as applicable today, was then summed up in a quatrain:

Another party more refined,
Or else more obstinately blind,
Believe their holyness transcendent,
And will be therefore independent.²²

One of this opinion, seeing no hope for ecclesiastical agreement, yet foresaw a Christian harmony: "When agreement is impossible," he wrote, "men will cease to attempt it; and when differences are made innocent, the infinite variety of understandings and apprehensions of men will be no more hurtful or offensive than their different faces."²³ He might have been describing the mid-twentieth century situation.

¹⁷*The Ill Effects of Animosities*, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

¹⁸William Bassett, *Unity Stated, The Only Means to It Assigned and Argued in a Sermon* (London, 1683), pp. 19-20.

¹⁹*The Grounds of Unity in Religion*, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 8.

²¹Thomas Mariott, *The Danger of Division and the Necessity of Unity Opened in a Sermon* (London, 1689), p. 18.

²²Edward Ward, *Protestant Divisions, or, Party against Party* (London, 1702), p. 7.

²³*An Expedient of Unity*, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

However, there were many who could not offer even this comfort. Strict Anglicans believed their faith was about to be swamped by Presbyterian dogma and liturgy. They argued that it would be impossible to satisfy all dissenters, no matter how broad the Church of England was made. The typical attitude was that the dissenters made no definite promises of reunion, and made only vague proposals as a basis for comprehension terms; thus, the Anglicans might make great changes from which they could not retire, and thereby not only lose many of their own fold, but fail to gain dissenting die-hards.²⁴

Anglican irreconcilables defended the sign of the cross in baptism and traced its history for 1,600 years.²⁵ Why should the Anglicans be the only ones to change?, what of their "tender consciences?", was a predominant viewpoint. Too many were satisfied with things as they were, for any alternation would give more offense than satisfaction.²⁶

Most of the opponents of union, being high churchmen, attacked the dissenters as a sect. These dissenters, they often claimed, would take any Anglican move as an Anglican defeat, and only plan other demands in hope that they would soon be uppermost themselves.²⁷ These "phanaticks" dared call the Anglican surplice a "superstitious rag," called the Book of Common Prayer the "English Mass Book," and the bishops "limbs of Antichrist"; therefore, how could there be any reconciliation!²⁸ How could the surplice and kneeling at the Eucharist touch tender consciences and "schism and sedition" leave them cold, it was argued.²⁹ In a word, the dissenters were not welcome in the Established Church. Speaking as if for all, one opponent of union remarked almost threateningly to the dissenters: "I would advise you and your party to stay till you are invited, and not to thrust yourselves into our church."³⁰

Daniel Defoe, employing irony, presented the extreme view of the opponents of comprehension, an opinion he did not hold. In satire, he put into his own mouth the beliefs of those who wanted to erect a Christian unity of a totalitarian sort of "banishing of those going to a con-

²⁴*A Letter to a Friend, Containing some Quæries about the New Commission for Making Alterations in the Liturgy, Canons and Ways of the Church of England* (London, 1689), pp. 2-3.

²⁵William Cave, *A Serious Exhortation with Some Important Advices relating to the Late Case about Conformity* (London, 1683), pp. 17-18.

²⁶*The Late Proposal of Union among Protestants, Reviewed and Rectified* (London, 1679), p. 10.

²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 11.

²⁸*A Discourse about Conscience, Relating to the Present Differences among Us; in Opposition to Both Extremes of Popery and Fanaticisme* (London, 1684), p. 37.

²⁹William Basset, *Unity Stated*, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

³⁰*The Present Conjecture, in a Dialogue between a Churchman and a Dissenter* (London, 1689), p. 8.

venticle and hanging their preachers."⁸¹ Pro-unity men believed it dangerous to make enemies of the dissenters, for union with them was vital to the current war effort against France and would gain foreign Protestants.⁸² However, the foes of religious union, as Defoe would have his readers see them, believed England could fight the foreign enemy alone and ought to rout out this so-called internal antagonist at this appropriate time.⁸³

Extremists among the Anglicans were not the only opponents of union. Richard Baxter, foremost advocate of unity and pioneer in the movement, complained that both sides attacked him, the dissenters for his being "over-Conformable."⁸⁴

PROPOSED METHODS AND TYPES OF UNION

The methods suggested for Protestant unity were as variegated as their motley advocates, but three means embrace the major suggestions. By the first, the Anglican bishops might divest themselves of all "offensive" dignities and become equal to the other ministers, specifically, the presbyters; all liturgy contrary to Presbyterian practice would be discarded. Few dared suggest so radical a course, but there were modifications of this proposal.⁸⁵

Secondly, the Presbyterians (for they were primarily concerned in the comprehension proposed) could enter the established fold and receive all the customs and ceremonies of the episcopal practice with no alterations. This scheme was the only acceptable one to many staunch churchmen, but, needless to say, hardly appealed to most dissenters.⁸⁶

Thirdly, both parties might relinquish something and settle their differences half way. This happy medium became a will o' the wisp to most men of good will. It was, of course, the only logical path to peace. All agreed that "nothing should be altered lightly."⁸⁷ It was suggested that the wisest and most moderate men of both parties lay plans for union in order to " . . . find out expedients, to propose them, to level the difficult obstacles, to manage the minds, and finally, to inspire both parties' thoughts full of charity and of peace."⁸⁸

A most interesting plan presented was a bond of union. The introducer encouraged union by suggesting that a college be built in each

⁸¹Daniel Defoe, *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters* (London, 1702), pp. 14-15.

⁸²*The Occasional Letter*, Number One (London, 1704), p. 23.

⁸³Defoe, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

⁸⁴Richard Baxter, *Of National Churches* (London, 1691), p. 36.

⁸⁵*Several Letters written by French Protestants, op. cit.*, p. 24.

⁸⁶*A Persuasion to Communion, op. cit.*, p. 2.

⁸⁷*Several Letters written by French Protestants, op. cit.*, p. 25.

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, p. 33.

nation for which a number of youths of superior abilities were to be chosen by the state through a lottery of the most worthy young men. Those boys elected would be trained carefully until they were qualified for the ministry, and upon petition by any church in the land, they would be sent out according to national religious needs. They would preach the Gospel "plainly, decently, and orderly." The author of this intriguing proposal believed, waxing enthusiastic, that "a new heaven and a new earth would suddenly appear, all the disturbing names of Baptists and Protestants, schismatick and heretick would thereby speedily cease."³⁹ Such a nearly creedless faith was predoomed to failure.

The Rev. Dr. Erasmus Warren set down a "decalogue" to secure desired unity. It included a call for sincere humility which would unite and consolidate Christianity, an almost stoic patience, and mutual forbearance powerful enough to discipline its practicers against calling their opponents "mad Dissenters."⁴⁰

By 1689 the leaders of the Presbyterian-Congregationalist consolidation were crusading for a general union of Protestants. They offered their own encouraging example as a basis for the settlement. They had reduced all distinguishing names to that of United Brethren, and their pastors were correspondingly called "United Ministers."⁴¹ If the anticipated merger of Christians had followed their advice, there would have been prohibitions against all arguments as to which sect was more favored by the agreement. Occasional communion would have been an ideal, for they encouraged an intermingling of flocks participating in "the Word, prayer, Sacraments, and singing of psalms dispensed according to the Mind of Christ,"⁴² unless the church in question could be shown too unorthodox. Ministers of the different churches ought to have frequent meetings with one another for mutual support, advice, and encouragement, this group believed.⁴³

The so-called Heads of Agreement drawn up by the United Ministers called for the recognition by all Protestant churches of all other particular Protestant churches as instituted churches of Christ, the admission to communion of those free of scandal, congregations and pastors to live near one another, and the individual to have the right to choose his own church officers. This Calvinistic confederation also suggested that dogmas be less specific so that neither side might be contradicted or offended. With scrupulous care to avoid friction, the Heads

³⁹*An Expedient for Peace Amongst Christians*, op. cit., pp. 31-35.

⁴⁰Erasmus Warren, *Divine Rules for Christian Unity opened and Urged in a Sermon at Norwich* (London, 1692), pp. 1-16.

⁴¹*Free Thoughts*, op. cit., p. 4.

⁴²*Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁴³*Heads of Agreement Asserted to by the United Ministers in and about the City of London* (London, 1691), p. 10.

of Agreement declared that no partisan ought to censure another church until the elders or other church officers had an opportunity to vindicate their denomination from the charge.⁴⁴ Furthermore, each church ought to be willing to give account of its own proceedings to all interested persons.

By far, the most important of all unification attempts was that of the Comprehension Bill of 1689, which attempted to pacify the Presbyterians and bring them into the Anglican fold. It was erroneously believed that a comprehension of the Presbyterians alone could persuade most other dissenters to join the Church. The remainder would be too small numerically to stand alone,⁴⁵ according to the theory.

The 1689 Comprehension Bill was not the first of its kind. After the Restoration, in 1661, such a measure was presented to Parliament, but it failed, for Sheldon, the leading churchman, wished to oust rather than comprehend the non-conformists, and Richard Baxter, long a laborer for reconciliation, was too opinionated to compromise.⁴⁶ Another bill in 1668 failed of passage, and the 1683 Comprehension Bill was also dropped, for churchmen felt that it was too favorable to the dissenters and would have rather united them against the Church.⁴⁷

The great Comprehension Bill stemmed from the attempt of non-juring bishops in 1688 to formulate a Presbyterian comprehension which would make the use of the sign of the cross in baptism optional and permit the taking of the Holy Communion while seated.⁴⁸ A number of Dutch ministers petitioned William III in 1689 to champion the same cause, and, in the same vein, William requested the leading Presbyterians not to accept James II's offers, but to join the Anglicans in a mutual support of Protestantism. Privately, the prince wanted to see the Prayer Book and other reforms strong enough to embrace all reasonable Protestants.⁴⁹

"In order . . . to remove the occasions of the differences which may arise among Protestants," began the Comprehension Bill presented to the House of Lords on March 11, 1689.⁵⁰ It stated that a newly conforming minister need only declare that the Thirty-nine Articles contained everything necessary for salvation. Thus, he could interpret them after his own conscience and preserve his own opinions

⁴⁴*Heads of Agreement Asserted to by the United Ministers in and About the City of London* (London, 1691), pp. 3-10.

⁴⁵*The Grounds of Unity in Religion*, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

⁴⁶H. C. Foxcroft, *A Supplement from Unpublished Manuscripts to Burnet's "History of My Own Time"* (Oxford, 1902), p. 60.

⁴⁷William Basset, *Unity Stated*, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

⁴⁸Burnet, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 331.

⁵⁰*Historical Manuscripts Commission*, XII, 6, House of Lords Manuscripts, II, 1689-1690, pp. 49-52.

of Church liturgy so distasteful to Presbyterian Protestantism. The Anglican liturgy would be no longer an obstacle to harmony. No minister would be obliged to wear a surplice in any religious office, except in the king's or queen's chapels; a black gown suitable to his degree was required, however. The sign of the cross was to be optional in baptism rites. Any minister ordained by presbyters might, without reordination, acquire the rights of an Anglican minister.⁵¹

The Comprehension Bill passed the Lords, but in Commons the powerful high church party was angered because Convocation had not been advised of this radical bill. Both houses petitioned William to call Convocation. The new king did so and also issued a commission to prepare amendments to the bill and to decide on further reformation of the Church liturgy.⁵² This commission was composed of thirty clergymen, but nine were dominant: Burnet, Stillingfleet, Kidder, Tenison, and Tillotson, among them. It met October 3 to November 13. From the first, the commissioners were hindered by destructive criticism. Opponents argued that Convocation should have first decided if any alterations were needed before these commissioners had made them. "Some few assuming men," they complained, were able to alter the established faith to make it comply with their own private ends and interests in the name of "peace and unity."⁵³ These few men did not know what would satisfy the unconsulted dissenters, either. Convocation, believed the antagonists of comprehension, should make alterations, for the commissions, composed of such powerful forces as Burnet, Tillotson, and Tenison, could effectively check freedom of debate on the proposals.⁵⁴ They were wrong. The Church could not be transformed by nine men, as they asserted.

Convocation met on November 2, and it seemed to agree with the vilification of the commission. Failure of the bill was certain; even its friends defended it with little spirit.⁵⁵

In this manner, a well-laid scheme had gone awry. Macaulay tells us that comprehension was out of joint with the times. It was contrary to the prejudices of the people, for dissent was as well established in the land as the state Church, and the breach was too wide by the

⁵¹*Historical Manuscripts Commission*, XII, 6, House of Lords Manuscripts, II, 1689-1690, p. 49.

⁵²*Dictionary of National Biography*, Sidney Lee, ed. (London, 1891), LI, p. 396.

⁵³*A Letter to a Friend*, *op. cit.*, p. 1. These men were indeed powerful contributions to the cause of union. Gilbert Burnet, historian and divine, dedicated much of his time to the better understanding between Presbyterians and Anglicans. Edward Stillingfleet became bishop of Worcester in 1689, while Thomas Tenison succeeded John Tillotson as archbishop of Canterbury in 1694. The former had succeeded to that position in 1691. See *D. N. B.* for short biographies of these men.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

⁵⁵W. H. Hutton, *History of the English Church*, Volume entitled *From the Accession of Charles I to the Death of Queen Anne*, pp. 249-250.

end of the seventeenth century to be spanned by any legislation.⁵⁶ The strong churchmen in the committee, he relates, succeeded in their efforts to reject the non-necessity of sacrament kneeling, and the validity of ordination by presbyters.⁵⁷

One must remember, too, that the tremendous power of the Presbyterian ministers would have been diminished and their prestige dimmed. The subscriptions of Presbyterians were large, while the Anglican stipends were comparatively small, as was previously noted. Thus, Presbyterians themselves did not unanimously support comprehension.⁵⁸

G. M. Trevelyan blames comprehension's failure on the neglect to include Baptists, Quakers, and Independents, but the Baptists and Quakers as well as most Congregationalists denounced historically any comprehension.⁵⁹

It is always satisfying to judge after a fiasco the causes of its sad career. Shortly after the abandonment of the Comprehension Bill, new plans sprang up for another attempt at comprehension. The decade of the 1690s favored an even broader basis for reunion. It was suggested that only an oath of allegiance, an anti-papal oath, a Simoniacal oath, and a declaration of support of the Thirty-nine Articles should be required for comprehension. The sign of the cross in baptism, kneeling at the sacrament, and the wearing of the surplice, all were to be optional. The Presbyterians should compromise by agreeing to have all their ministers, who had been ordained by presbyters, reordained by a bishop. The dissenters had never been officially consulted on terms of settlement in the bill of 1689. Now, union encouragers, to avoid this, asked that any future royal commission for comprehension call moderate dissenting ministers and deal with them on grounds of concord.⁶⁰ These entreaties were unfortunately fruitless.

The new century commenced amid programs for a different kind of union, that of England and Scotland, but this political fusion was to foster further designs for religious reunion. The United Ministers backed this movement, too.⁶¹ According to those who urged a national Church accommodation, all tolerated Protestant churches in England were to be declared parts of the "church national." Thus the religious problem of a united Great Britain would be settled. There would be no

⁵⁶Thomas B. Macaulay, *History of England* (Philadelphia, 1890), III, pp. 90-91.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, p. 91.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, p. 91.

⁵⁹G. M. Trevelyan, *The English Revolution* (London, 1938), p. 163.

⁶⁰*Union Pursued, in a Letter to Mr. Baxter Concerning his Late Book of National Churches . . . the United Ministers of London* (London, 1691), pp. 22-25.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, p. 1.

attempt to bring all sects into strict agreement; instead, the only ties would be a loyalty to one God, one Christ, and one Holy Ghost, mutual love for all Christians, and loyalty to the sovereign.⁶² This confederacy would protect the rights of all sects. The national Church would not be under the hegemony of any sect or party, and it would be unlawful to make any part of dogma or liturgy necessary if it were dispensable to fulfilling Gospel commands.⁶³ All reasonable dissenters would be recognized as true members of the national Church of England, or Great Britain.

This latest attempt for peace was based on the premise that a Christian people ruled by a Christian sovereign is a national Church, but this national Church was human in origin, not divine; the king was to be, naturally, head of the Church, while all who bore him allegiance were of the body. It was agreed that most dissenters would recognize the king as head of the Church and his right to appoint Church officers over all sects, if no divine origin were claimed for this right.⁶⁴ The Presbyterians, the enthusiasts believed, though contrary to the arguments of many, could be allowed to keep their governmental form, for they could recognize episcopacy only in that the national bishops were civil, not divine, officers of the king, with directive authority to see that all churches in their dioceses "walked according to their own principles and peace of one another and all the laws, limitations, and rules."⁶⁵ Civil and church statutes were not to be united, it was definitely declared.⁶⁶ Thus, a mixed church government, presbyterian, episcopal, and independent, was considered a workable possibility, and to strengthen this hope, advocates urged that some dissenting ministers be consecrated bishops, for "none could then scruple the acceptance, for must a union from that day forward commence in England."⁶⁷ Whether Calvinists would accept bishoprics, was not commented upon, generally! A third clerk of Convocation might also be chosen from the dissenters, and all parish churches in the land could choose their own representatives from Convocation. This, it was hoped, surely would secure just and lasting unity.⁶⁸

Another comprehension bill would be necessary to achieve these changes.⁶⁹ Some enthusiasts believed this rather nationalistic but loose confederacy would be better bound if a new Anglican liturgy, suitable

⁶²*Of National Churches*, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

⁶³*Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁶⁴*Union Pursued*, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

⁶⁵John Humfrey, *A Draught for a National Church Accommodation* (London, 1705), p. 20.

⁶⁶*Of National Churches*, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

⁶⁷*Union Pursued*, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁶⁹Humfrey, *A Draught*, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

to all parties, could be agreed upon, but that had failed miserably once.⁷⁰

Only Quakers and Roman Catholics would be excluded from the new national Church, for both would refuse an oath of allegiance to Anne.⁷¹ Nevertheless, any papists who could and would submit to an oath of fidelity to the queen, would actually be admitted to the Church!⁷²

The confederacy would have been profitable to both sides, for the Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, legally recognized as communicants under it, would be eligible for any civil or military as well as religious office in the kingdom. However, he would be subject to the "same publick government both ecclesiastick and civil, though separate from worship into [his] own particular congregations."⁷³ Supposedly, the bishops would be strengthened, too, for their authority would be extended to a questionably limited degree over all legal churches.⁷⁴

The whole recommendation for confederacy seems to be a weak rationalization of an almost hopeless situation. If dissenters could not be won over by a firm Protestant union, political theologians would then gain them by declaring their sects part of the Church, anyway. Even this failed, probably because tolerance was so firmly rooted by 1707 that dissenters needed not to scruple the slightest to achieve their main aims.

Then, too, the union of north and south Britain into one kingdom had been won without any serious religious clash, but with continued church disunion, satisfactory to both lands. Just the same, as late as 1715, the persistent John Humfrey still pled for a church confederacy to preserve the United Kingdom whose future he viewed pessimistically.⁷⁵

While Humfrey wrote for unity, another failure of a slightly different sort further weakened the crumbling cause. In 1717, the French clergy, angered by current papal arbitrary acts, thought of union with the Church of England. William Wake, then archbishop of Canterbury, spurred the movement on. The Thirty-nine Articles were not distasteful to the French, but after their spokesman died in 1719, nothing more was done.⁷⁶ The movements for Protestant union in England never had an international aspect, but union proponents believed all Protestants should support each other and oppose papism without any

⁷⁰*Union Pursued*, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

⁷¹Humfrey, *A Draught*, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

⁷²*Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁷³Humfrey, *A Draught*, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

⁷⁴*Union Pursued*, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

⁷⁵John Humfrey, *Concord under King George in Respect both to Church and Commonwealth* (London, 1715), pp. 11-13.

⁷⁶*Dictionary of National Biography*, LIII, p. 446.

special laws, rites, forms, or agreements on any side.⁷⁷ French Protestants, at this time refuged in England from Louis XIV's persecutions, communicated with the Church of England "without the least scruple."⁷⁸ Nevertheless, the typical practical admonition was, "Let us leave the Protestants of foreign churches and keep our eyes at home."⁷⁹ Here was eighteenth century religious isolationism!

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE UNITY MOVEMENTS

From this study, one must have gained some idea of the general characteristics of the Protestant union movements. One can plainly see the nationalistic, economic, and purifying tendencies of the crusades. These are surface qualities, quite evident to all. But there are deeper traits peculiar to the movement and to the age.

The spirit of tolerance is outstanding in the writings of most reunion proponents. "Unity of men in love and charity will in time bring unity in common faith and worship of God," spoke William Wake; his words today are still unfulfilled prophecy.⁸⁰ Complete toleration was proposed by some as a means of union. A Mr. Cooper would have extended it even to Roman Catholics, for he thought they would prefer English toleration to rule under their co-religionists!⁸¹ An abolition of laws injurious to presbytery would "calm them and dispose them to reunite themselves with the bishops."⁸² Thus, "endeavours to disgust, disquiet, discourage, distress, trouble, or punish Non-Conformists [would] endanger the Protestant religion."⁸³

The late seventeenth century was a period in which the slow movement against dogmatic religion began to be apparent. The Cambridge Platonists of a generation earlier had stressed in their philosophy the twin teachings of reason and charity applied to religion. Benjamin Whichcote, especially, taught that only the minimum essentials ought to be demanded of communicants. Dogma for its own sake was arrogance.⁸⁴ Their influence was at least indirectly felt in the Protestant reunion movement. In this same vein, one unionist declared, "Could we but once prefer Christianity itself before the several factions that bear its name, our Dissenters would sink of themselves. There is more re-

⁷⁷*The Late Proposal of Union among Protestants Revived and Rectified* (London, 1679), p. 10.

⁷⁸*Free Thoughts*, op. cit., p. 18.

⁷⁹*The Late Proposal*, op. cit., p. 10.

⁸⁰William Wake, *An Exhortation to Mutual Charity and Union among Protestants*, in a Sermon (London, 1689), p. 25.

⁸¹M. Cooper, *A Proposal of Christian Union for the Establishment and Purification of the British Monarchy* (London, 1743), p. 10.

⁸²*Several Letters written by French Protestants*, op. cit., p. 38.

⁸³John Owen, *A Brief Vindication*, op. cit., p. 56.

⁸⁴Frederick Powicke, *The Cambridge Platonists* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1926), pp. 59-66.

ligion in not contending than in all the matters we contend about."⁸⁵ Another example of this is, "Let men dispute about them [differences] as philosophers, but as Christians, let it suffice them to believe what Christ and His Apostles have plainly taught us."⁸⁶ In a critical mood, Burnet himself censured his own Church, saying, "We weighed not so much whether they whome we took into our sacred communion . . . were conformable in their lives to the Scriptures, as whether they comply'd with the canons of the Church."⁸⁷ Dr. Warren stated that no church on earth can be completely pure.⁸⁸ Another's insistence that whatever in faith which makes a man a better person is good,⁸⁹ and the rejection by many of both sides of the doctrine that episcopal, or presbyterian, or independent church government was by scriptural command, blazed new trails.

The rationalistic viewpoint commended by the Cambridge Platonists seems to have begun to replace strict dogmatism. This quotation best illustrates the trend:

"[Unity] ought to be as rational and constant to the law of nature as possible . . . without affectation of novelty on th' one hand or superstition on t'other . . . being founded in reason, it will be applicable and comprehensive to all reasonable men."⁹⁰

The movements for Protestant unity, encouraged by moderate men of the Church of England and the Calvinistic Churches, goaded on by eager pamphleteers, prejudiced by but high motives for the most part, was the unreal goal of patriots, puritans, merchants, and malcontents for a generation. Idealistic and practical means for union were tested, but failure swallowed them all.

Disappointed advocates attributed failure to various causes, even to the freedom of the press, that press which has perpetuated their ideas for us.⁹¹ However, even the most blessed of peacemakers could not alone have gained their goal, for there was no vital political or religious need for union after 1714. This noblest lost cause of all was discarded, but it was not quite forgotten, nor was it actually defeated, for Christianity is based on a oneness of God, a oneness of mankind, a oneness of salvation, and a oneness of human hope, the indispensable ingredients of an inevitable union.

⁸⁵E. Young, *A Sermon Exhorting to Union in Religion, preached at Bow Church* (London, 1688), p. 29.

⁸⁶William Sherlocke, *A Sermon Preached before the Right Honorable, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London* (London, 1688), p. 8.

⁸⁷Gilbert Burnet, *The Ill Effects of Animositities*, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁸⁸Erasmus Warren, *Divine Rules for Christian Unity*, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

⁸⁹*An Expedient for Peace Amongst Christians, Second Part*, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁹⁰*The Grounds of Unity in Religion*, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

⁹¹*A Proposal of Christian Union*, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Province of the Pacific. By the Rt. Rev. Louis Childs Sanford, D. D., LL. D., late Bishop of San Joaquin, Philadelphia: The Church Historical Society, 1949. Pp. xiii, 187. \$3.00.

This volume appears in a year when the General Convention of the Church was meeting for the second time in San Francisco and for the third time within the half-century in the Province of the Pacific. It appears in the centennial year of the discovery of gold in California and in the quadricentennial year of the English Prayer Book, which was first used on this continent at Drake's Bay in California 370 years ago. Truly, therefore, we regard the appearance of this "Publication 28" of the Church Historical Society as most timely.

The Province of the Pacific is the largest in area of any of the eight provinces of the American Church. Within continental United States, it comprises an area of 709,108 square miles (as against 657,341 for the Province of the Southwest, our next largest). Including the vast territory of Alaska and the overseas missionary districts of Honolulu and the Philippines Islands, its area attains the staggering total of 1,416,978 square miles! The province includes five self-supporting diocese (California, Los Angeles, Sacramento, Oregon, and Olympia), seven domestic missionary districts (San Joaquin, Eastern Oregon, Spokane, Idaho, Nevada, Utah, and Arizona), and the aforementioned three overseas missionary districts. Within this area the Church has (according to the 1949 *Living Church Annual*) 711 clergy, 805 parishes and missions, 226,102 Church members, 144,669 communicants, and 54,140 members in its Church schools. For many years this has been the fastest growing province of the American Church, both in population and Church membership.

These facts do not appear in the book, which deals not with the detailed history of the Episcopal Church in the various jurisdictions which now make up the province, but with the development of the province itself as an entity in the Church's life and organization. But the facts mentioned do lend added interest to Bishop Sanford's painstaking and valuable study—the first such history yet attempted, we believe. In a very real sense the book is Bishop Sanford's legacy to the Church, for he dispatched the manuscript to the publisher only eleven days before his death, August 10, 1948, at the age of 81. As secretary of the Eighth Missionary Department, 1908-1911, as bishop of San Joaquin from 1911 to his retirement in 1944, and as president of the province for fourteen years, 1924-1938, the bishop could truthfully have said of the many things which he records, "*Quorum pars magna fui.*" Not that his self-effacing modesty permitted him to say so. In the Author's Acknowledgment he is most generous in confessing his indebtedness to others. But it is fitting that Bishop Gooden, the present

president of the province, should pay tribute to the service which he has rendered, and that the memorial tribute adopted by the council of the province on September 29, 1948, should be printed in full in the preface.

In Chapter One, "Provinces: Ancient and Modern," Bishop Edward L. Parsons contributes a brief and brilliant essay summarizing the development of provinces in the structural organization of the Church from the earliest days to the present, and showing with characteristic lucidity how "Dioceses, provinces, patriarchates, came along quite naturally as the Church under the guidance of the Holy Spirit met the constantly shifting needs of its growing life." This chapter provides an excellent background to Bishop Sanford's detailed narrative.

Chapter Two tells the history of the introduction of the provincial system in the American Episcopal Church. Anticipated by Bishop White, it was not until 1850 that Bishops DeLancey and Otey first proposed in General Convention the erection of provinces. The constitution of the Church in the Confederate States (1862) provided permissively for the erection of provinces—an action which influenced the reunited Church. Periodically the proposal was revived, but nothing happened. In 1880 the House of Deputies approved the action of the three Illinois dioceses in forming a "Federated Council." The final advent of provinces was made certain by an amendment to the constitution in 1901. But not until 1913 was the provincial system written into the canons. Jealousy for diocesan sovereignty, the dread of sectionalism, and a fear of "Roman" tendencies were the chief causes of this long delay.

But in the meantime the growing concern of churchmen for the missionary work of the Church resulted in the organization of department councils and forwarded the provincial idea. Nowhere was the movement more sympathetically fostered than in the Pacific and intermountain States. From the time of the General Convention of 1904, the Pacific Coast deputies had been accustomed to a dinner meeting at General Convention. Such provincial dinners for all the provinces have become an established feature since the Denver Convention of 1931. The Seventh Department (as it was known prior to 1907) effectively influenced the administration of the Church by petitioning for the abolition of missionary districts that overlapped state lines, by seeking revision of the terms under which loans were made by the American Church Building Fund Commission, and by advocating the regulation and curtailment of appeals by missionary bishops for "specials."

After the adoption of the Provincial Canon of 1913, the outbreak of World War I resulted in the postponement of the Primary Synod of the newly designated Eighth Province. The adjourned Primary Synod met in St. Paul's, Oakland, August 19, 1915, with a most gratifying and representative attendance and with Bishop William F. Nichols of California as its first president. Since then the synod has met every year except in 1918 and 1945, with concurrent meetings of the Woman's Auxiliary of the province.

Space forbids an account in this review of the steady growth of a provincial spirit, the development of provincial legislation, the adoption of provincial projects, and the enumeration of the many bishops, presbyters, laymen, and laywomen who have exercised leadership in the affairs of the province. The reader must be referred to the book itself,

where Bishop Sanford presents these matters in appropriate detail. But special mention must be made of the primacy of Bishop Nichols, which extended from the Missionary Council of 1903 to the Provincial Synod of 1921. Bishop Sanford pays fitting tribute to his statesmanship, his excellence as a parliamentarian, and his strong personality. His was indeed a formative influence in setting the tone of the province. Under his successors the province has developed a strong *esprit de corps* and has been in the van in seeking enlarged provincial powers. Curiously enough, however, the national House of Bishops has twice ignored the synod's nominations for vacant missionary episcopates within the province—evidence of the continued reluctance of the general Church to permit the provincial synods to become more than "amiable debating societies" or sounding boards for the National Council. The Synod of the Pacific is much more than either of these; and its very remoteness from the administrative seat of the Church on the Eastern seaboard lends substance to the hope that it will continue to take the lead in the inevitable trend toward decentralization and the devolution of administrative authority which the continued growth of the Church seems to require.

Two appendices tabulate, respectively, the various provincial synods and the data regarding the various bishops who from the beginning have exercised jurisdiction within the territory covered by the province. Dr. Nelson W. Rightmeyer contributes a useful outline map of the province as the frontispiece. In typography, format, and binding, the book maintains the high standard we have been accustomed to look for in publications of the Church Historical Society.

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Tulsa, Oklahoma.

American Freedom and Catholic Power. By Paul Blanshard. Boston, The Beacon Press. 350 pp. \$3.50.

This is a very significant book. When some portions of it appeared (in an earlier form) in *The Nation* in a series of installments ending on June 4, 1948, those installments provoked an instantaneous and fiery response from the Roman Catholic hierarchy, resulting in the withdrawal of *The Nation* from the reading rooms of public libraries and the reading lists of public schools, and elicited an equally ardent defense in liberal and academic circles. The significance of the book has been further highlighted by Cardinal Spellman's attack on the Barden bill last summer and his subsequent intemperate denunciation of Mrs. Roosevelt as an "anti-Catholic bigot," because she ventured to express her disagreement with the cardinal's position.

American Freedom and Catholic Power is in the line of succession to Winfred Ernest Garrison's *Catholicism and the American Mind*, which appeared in 1928 at a time when Governor Alfred E. Smith's bid for the Presidency had been challenged by Mr. Charles C. Marshall's Open

Letter in *The Atlantic Monthly*, and the resultant correspondence aired the same issue, "Do the power politics of the Roman hierarchy constitute a menace to American freedom?" But much water has flowed over the dam in the last twenty-one years. The outcome of World War II and the spread of communism have aroused, partly by way of compensation for losses elsewhere, a new aggressiveness on the part of the hierarchy in the United States (as elsewhere). Yes, particularly in the United States, because the Papacy must look to this country for financial support which impoverished Europe can no longer afford, and for sympathy and aid in its life and death battle against communism. And the opposition to Rome has likewise changed its character. As Mr. Blanshard points out, "the new opposition is not based upon the type of personal bigotry which disgraced the country during the Al Smith campaign. It is strongest among the liberals who have always stood most courageously for personal tolerance."

The rapidly increasing circulation of this book (which at the end of August had gone through five printings) promises to alert thoughtful and freedom-loving Americans to the real dangers which the official Roman Catholic lust for power poses to our democratic way of life and to strengthen an intelligent counter-response. For Roman Catholicism is not only a religion, but also a political organization and a sovereign power—the true successor of Imperial Rome, with the powerful religious sanction of infallibility. As such, of course, it is in inherent opposition to the basic presuppositions of democracy, and displays its affinities to Fascism and other forms of totalitarianism.

It has not always been easy to keep American Romanists under the control of this strict autocracy. Exposed as they are to contact with millions of other Americans to whom the separation of church and state is axiomatic, American Romanists have often exhibited an independence that has been of grave concern to the hierarchy. But Rome rejects the idea that force is not an attribute of the kingdom of God. Our Lord's saying, "My kingdom is not of this world," is alien to the whole Roman philosophy. From the Pope to the humblest parish priest, the Roman Church has evolved a system which, with increasing effectiveness, seeks to regiment her adherents as a great force which, through boycott and political pressure, forwards the whole program of the Church. "How the Hierarchy Works" is the subject of one carefully developed chapter. A chapter on "Church, State, and Democracy" develops, with the aid of quotations from high Roman authorities, the fundamental difference between the Church and American democracy in their attitudes toward governmental power and the extent to which Rome is willing to compromise these principles as a practical measure in any state or nation where Roman Catholics are in the minority.

Perhaps the most important chapters in the book are those that deal with "Education and the Catholic Mind" and "Public Schools and Public Money." For it is in the educational field that the issue is most clearly drawn and public controversy aroused. To anyone who would understand the philosophy underlying the development of the parochial schools and the Church's institutions of higher learning, and the basic antagonism of the Church to the public school system, the reading of

these carefully documented chapters is a "must." In the chapter on "The Church and Medicine" and the following chapter on "Sex, Birth Control, and Eugenics," we see how Roman Catholic physicians and nurses are subordinated to the limiting requirements of Roman casuistry and moral theology, with resultant tension and frequent conflict with enlightened medical practice.

The Church's claim to exercise supreme authority over all Christian marriage and its handling of mixed marriages, divorce, and annulment, is the subject matter of another chapter which reveals the grave concern which Romanism feels towards the increasing intermarriage of its people with people of other faiths. While the Church takes a seemingly adamant stand against divorce, it remains true that there are numerous devices under Roman canon law for the annulment of marriages without formality, and so many such annulments are obtained that the Pope has sent a special warning message about them to the American hierarchy. The claim of the Pope to annul even non-Roman marriages (when the Church can gain thereby) is brought out; and the moral values of the Church's marriage and annulment system are illustrated by the scandalous marriage of Tyrone Power to a second "Catholic" wife in Rome eight hours before his first marriage to a "Catholic" wife had been terminated by final decree in a Los Angeles superior court!

A chapter on "Censorship and Boycott" indicates how some of the world's greatest literature is included among the 5,000 works officially banned by the *Index librorum prohibitorum*, and the wide extent to which the censorship of contemporary authors has been pursued by the hierarchy, here and elsewhere. We are enlightened also as to the pressure brought to bear upon newspapers and magazines against publishing anything unfavorable to the Church, and the *modus operandi* of the Legion of Decency with respect to the motion picture industry.

A chapter on "Science, Scholarship, and Superstition" brings out the amazing sterility of Roman Catholic historical and scientific scholarship in this country, and contains a fascinating summary of the love of portents and "miracles" which popular Romanism breeds. Particularly interesting is the account of the promotion of the cult of Our Lady of Fatima as an *ex post facto* antidote to the spread of communism.

The relations of the Roman hierarchy to "Fascism, Communism, and Labor" are developed in the next chapter. Giving due recognition to the fact that probably the great majority of American Romanists have no Fascist sympathies, the Fascist affinities of the Papacy are clearly brought out by a review of Vatican policies toward Mussolini, Hitler, Dollfuss, Salazar, and Franco, in the years preceding World War II. The Church's antipathy to communism is genuine and sincere, albeit it plays into the hands of reactionaries and is responsible for much anti-communist hysteria. To those who think of Romanism as the greatest bulwark against communism, it is revealing and startling to note the strength of communism in countries like Italy, Spain, and many Latin-American republics, where the Church has long been dominant. The anti-clerical movements of a former day are now practically 100 per cent communistic. Under the caption, "The Catholic Plan for America," the author outlines what would probably happen to the American con-

stitution should Roman Catholicism ever attain dominance in this country, illustrating his prognosis by exhibits from French Canada and Central and South America. The avoidance of such a fate is closely linked, he believes, with the survival and expansion of the public school. The final chapter on "Tolerance, Appeasement, and Freedom" surveys the difficulty of cooperating with the hierarchy on any terms but its own, and outlines the broad general principles which should form the basis of enlightened resistance against the Church's encroachments upon our liberties.

Roman Catholic reviewers may brand Blanshard's book as offering "material for a study of the New Nativism," or may, with greater discernment, criticize his point of view as fundamentally secularist. But no criticism will carry much conviction which evades the thoroughgoing documentation of the author's thesis with undeniable facts and numerous quotations from responsible spokesmen of the Roman Church. If the anti-Roman fanaticism of the Klan and the Protestant underground do not undergo a contemporary revival, it will be because thoughtful American citizens, Roman Catholics as well as others, frankly face the issues defined and documented by this extremely forthright book.

E. H. ECKEL.

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Richard Hooker and Contemporary Political Ideas. By F. J. Shirley. (London, S. P. C. K., 1949.) 274 pages. 14/6.

Canon Shirley's new book has the merit of wide historical knowledge and rich learning, but it lacks philosophic insight. Hooker is presented as an Elizabethan political and ecclesiastical thinker, completely wedded to the age of which he is a part. He is never presented, however, as a thinker who is related to the past and is creating the future. To make Hooker merely a product of his own age is to fail to see him as transcending that age; but transcend that age he did, and for that reason he has been instrumental in creating so much of the civilization that came after him.

Canon Shirley's method of interpreting Hooker is to present him in the light of the influences acting upon him in the Elizabethan world of which he was a part. Hooker is thus made first and foremost the apologist for the Elizabethan Settlement. This is to forget, however, a fact of primary importance, the fact that Hooker, in defending this settlement, evolved a philosophy of Church and State which transcends the particular issues of the contemporary controversy. Hooker developed a philosophy and a theology which carry over many mediaeval principles into the modern world. As D'Entreves points out, Hooker is Janus-faced; his greatness lies in the fact that he used the wisdom of the past for the benefit of the future.¹

Canon Shirley's failure to realize the intellectual methods of Hooker handicaps him when he attempts to understand Hooker's conception of

¹*The Medieval Contribution to Political Thought.*

the episcopacy. He does not appreciate the uniqueness of Hooker's method, for he considers him in essence a compromiser. To be sure, the Canon approves of compromise, but he thinks of it as intellectually hazy. For him it is essentially a practical method of escaping some difficulties, but it is not a method that ultimately solves problems. Compromise sows the seeds of future dissensions. Hooker did save the Elizabethan Church, but the theories forming the elements of compromise were the very ones which caused the conflicts of the seventeenth century.²

According to Canon Shirley, Hooker's conception of the episcopacy is a compromise. With the reformers, Hooker recognized that the episcopacy is not essential to the Church. However, he did think that it was wise for the English Church to keep the ancient mediaeval institution.³ Thus, Hooker had his feet in two camps at one and the same time. He was what his enemies said he was, a trimmer.

In order to give this interpretation to Hooker, Canon Shirley thinks it necessary to prove that the Seventh Book of the *Polity* is untrustworthy. He is quite correct when he brings to our attention that the external evidence for its authenticity is not as strong as it might be. We have the Seventh Book only in the edition of Bishop Gauden, and Gauden's reputation is clouded by his connection with the *Eikon Basilike*. No manuscript of the Seventh Book has survived, and we must trust Bishop Gauden's word and testimony. So much for the external evidence; but most recent scholars have accepted the book as genuine on the basis of internal evidence. Canon Shirley, however, is convinced that the book has been modified, and will not accept it as it now stands. However, it is rather surprising that he uses this same Seventh Book to prove that Hooker "would surely content himself to describe Episcopacy as of human institution with divine approbation, a formula which would cover equally State officials and Civil Servants."⁴

Canon Shirley's difficulty lies in the fact that he does not realize that, in his argument with the Puritans, Hooker uses assumptions that he thinks that the Puritans will accept; but when he drops the argument with the Puritans he assumes his own position and the argument takes a different form. When he argues with the Puritans he proves that the episcopacy would be valid even though it should not be apostolic in origin. That is an argument in the Seventh Book.⁵ In the Fifth Book, however, where Hooker develops his position without reference to his opponents, he asserts that the ministry is three-fold and that bishops are in the succession of the apostles.⁶

Canon Shirley's book is rich in historical references, but it is weak in philosophical insight. Hooker was not a man of compromise. The *via media* with him was a principle of adjustment between old and new. It is a judicial principle which furnishes us the balance between extremes. To many men of his own day, Hooker seemed to be "so skillful

²Richard Hooker and Contemporary Political Ideas, p. 227.

³Richard Hooker and Contemporary Political Ideas, p. 227.

⁴Ibid., p. 235.

⁵Eccl. Pol., VII, x, 2ff.

⁶Ibid., V, lxxviii, 5.

that, with only one hook, he fisheth of both sides."⁷ And that is what Canon Shirley considers him to be, a man "that had his feet in two camps."⁸ Actually, Hooker was not a compromiser, but a reformer who saw below the surface of contemporary ideology to the foundations which support Church and State.

JOHN S. MARSHALL.

The University of the South.

A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century: Volume I, England in 1815. By Elie Halevy. Translated from the French by E. I. Watkin and D. A. Barker. With an Introduction by R. B. McCollum. (New York, Peter Smith, 1949.)

In the first volume of the outstanding *A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1949), Elie Halevy, the French historian, has given to the reader an indispensable guide or key to the treasure chest of eighteenth century England and to the foundations of the factory-commercial might of nineteenth century Great Britain.

England in 1815, the first volume of this series, was published in French in 1913, and the English translation came out in 1924. The current issue is the joint product of E. I. Watkins and D. A. Barker, who have successfully achieved, in many cases, an even more fluent edition than they found possible in the earlier one.

It is the fortunate anticipation that this slightly revised volume will soon be followed by the publication of five more—*The Liberal Awakening (1815-1830)*, *The Triumph of Reform (1830-1841)*, *The Victorian Years (1841-1895)*, *Imperialism and the Rise of Labour (1895-1905)*, and *The Rule of Democracy (1905-1914)*.

Victorian Years includes the *Age of Peel and Cobden*, with fill-in chapters by R. B. McCallum. Thus the current publication helps to fill in the gap left by Halevy at his death. In some cases notes left by the historian have been used in this section of the work.

The value of the re-publication of these volumes is great, and there is no need to give specifications as to the merits of Halevy's general contributions to a more comprehensive understanding of nineteenth century England. However, in light of current English problems, it is of more than common concern to gain a clearer picture of England as she emerged, in 1815, from the throes of an earlier world conflict.

England in 1815 is not the regular, formalized history, with space reserved for each succeeding rotation of ministers. The work itself is divided into three definite subdivisions—political institutions, economic life, and religion and culture. What makes this work significant is that Halevy gives his reader an insight into such topical subjects as credit and taxation, and the legislature and the supremacy of public opinion, which are matters too often delegated to monographs by the more

⁷*Op. cit.*, p. 227.

⁸*Ibid.*

conventional writer. There is nothing which is commonplace about this book; it is a brilliant summation of the English experience in the years just prior to 1815. It should be added that Halevy, when discussing religion in England, is perhaps at his best. The some one hundred pages which he reserves for this field are well lighted by his scholarship and his observation.

A superficial reading of Halevy gives the reader the impression that the author, as a Frenchman, is amazed that England was able to withstand the challenge of the organized lustiness of Napoleonic France. Then suddenly the dirge stops, and the mumbled roar of "God Save the King" renders this nugatory verdict incorrect. For in his conclusions Halevy sees the English example, in the eighteenth century, as a subjugation over much more than the revived power of imperial France. However, that thread of eventual victory is much more tenacious than would be suspected on first glance at the Halevy text; for the author is too careful in the story he presents to leave out the clues for the solution of his question: "What is in this England that made her successful?"

What Halevy does is to present an England, which existed for a short length of time into the nineteenth century, as a state without form or organization. This was an oligarchy, a decentralized state, which came up to 1815 without any regularized or uniform system of national political or economic development. For according to Halevy:

. . . the Tory reaction, by strengthening the hold of the Tory gentry over local government, confirmed the predominance in the British constitution of what may be termed the Whig principle. English society was freed from state control and left to govern itself. In England . . . the machine goes on almost of itself and therefore a very bad driver may manage it tolerably well.¹

With what can be described as a mushroom growth, there was little that the central government could do to ameliorate the birth pains of an industrial society. English institutions, as presented by Halevy, from Oxford to the House of Commons, were little prepared for the tumult of the change. Somehow, however, they met the stresses and strains, and like the far from perfect vessels of Nelson they met with success.

Halevy indicts the *ancien regime* of England of much which was corrupt. In fact, he draws the perfect brief for the radical reformer, the Chartist, and all those of a like ilk of later years. Under this measure of corruption he finally strikes two responsive chords, which for him are the answers to English survival or success, either term being competent to describe the situation. They were that England was basically a society in flux, subject to the pressures of a representative form of government, and that the evangelical movement was of such a penetrating character as to curb the more brutalizing aspects of the eighteenth century personality.

The author places a great emphasis on the ethical aspects of national life, rather than on the economic. He feels that the revo-

¹Halevy, p. 42.

lutionary spirit, which animated the Birmingham artisan, was due rather to the ethical and political than strictly to economic causes. According to Halevy, if the materialistic interpretation of history is to be trusted, the England of the nineteenth century was above all other countries destined for revolt and bloodshed. Nevertheless, this was not to be true. There was a source of great continuity in the eventful changes in England through the decades. The reasons for this continuity were not to be found in the obvious answers of political institutions, church, nor in the English schools. "To find it we must pass on to another category of social phenomena—to beliefs, emotions, and opinions"²

On the whole, the constitution was a blend of oligarchy and anarchy; there was within the country a feeling of belief in voluntary obedience, in an organization freely initiated and freely accepted. Those who governed England, in order to retain their leadership, were obliged to take account of views of those whom they governed. Thus, on the whole then, this heterogeneous system worked to the advantage of the island. In part the answer lies in the above mentioned points, and yet Halevy, careful historian that he is, reserves room for partial credit to that factor—"the urban smile"—which seemed to hover near England and hers.

MARY HAMILTON DAVISON.

*The University of California
at Los Angeles.*

Zwingli and Cranmer on the Eucharist. By Cyril C. Richardson. (The Dwight Johnson Memorial Lecture in Church History.) Seabury-Western Theological Seminary. 1949. 57 pp.

Was Cranmer a Zwinglian? Professor Cyril Richardson, of Union Seminary, boldly steps into the maze in which the embattled interpreters of Archbishop Cranmer's Eucharistic doctrine find themselves today. He bids us listen to Mr. G. B. Timms' distant shout, "Dixit Cranmer!" as he pursues the sixteenth chapter of *The Shape of the Liturgy* down the twisting and confusing passages of Cranmer's *Remains*. He points out the wrong turning taken by Dom Gregory Dix as he plunges after Timms with his battle-cry, "Dixit Cranmer et Non Timuit!" Our lecturer is well aware that this particular maze has swallowed up even the most distinguished of commentators in its pot-holes of error and its blind alleys of frustration. "Cranmer Dixit et Contradixit," says Dr. Richardson prudently, and he brilliantly and competently marks his own path with an arresting summary of Zwingli's Eucharistic doctrine.

Dr. Richardson is concerned to right the great injustice which (to quote him) "is frequently done to Zwingli by the assertion that his view differed from those of other notable Reformers in a denial of the presence of Christ at the Supper. What is nowadays often vigorously

²Halevy, p. 383.

upheld as a 'spiritual presence' is precisely what Zwingli meant by the presence of Christ according to His divinity, it being the nature of the divine to be omnipresent" The great value of the few pages Dr. Richardson can devote to Zwingli lies in his recognition of the controlling importance of Zwingli's view of faith, and his philosophic presuppositions derived from nominalism.

"Crammer," concludes Dr. Richardson, "follows Zwingli in holding that He is present by His divinity, and that by faith the believer enjoys an intimate union with Him." Why should Cranmer, then, have esteemed the Lord's Supper more highly than did Zwingli? What is the difference between them? According to the lecturer the difference lies first in the instrumental connection between the sacrament and the working of God's grace which Cranmer emphasized. "The difference lies in giving the elements a higher value, in stressing the fact that God, rather than the *believer*, uses them as instruments; and that He pledges to do so when the Supper is rightly observed. It is in this sense that sacraments are 'effectual signs of grace'—a phrase which Cranmer uses . . . and no parallel to which can be found in Zwingli."

Secondly, Dr. Richardson points to the contradictory element in Cranmer's thought which places him in a different setting from Zwingli. Cranmer believes in a mystical union of substance in his doctrine of the incarnation, but denies such a union in the Eucharist. It was one of the errors into which many of the Reformers were driven by partly accepting and partly rejecting the nominalist philosophy. Yet it was this contradiction in his thought which drove Cranmer to seek a middle ground of "instrumentality" in his Eucharistic opinions.

Not all Dr. Richardson's readers will agree with him, save perhaps when he says, "Cranmer's opinions did not, of course, triumph in the English Church" and "the Church uses the traditional language in a sense quite different from that of Cranmer." But there is no question that this lecture has an importance in recent literature on the subject far beyond what its size indicates. One hopes that it is the prelude to a full-length study of the problem.

POWEL MILLS DAWLEY.

*The General Theological Seminary,
New York City.*

How We Got our Prayer Book. By Edward Henry Eckel. 22 pages.

The Genius and Mission of the Episcopal Church. By John S. Marshall. 35 pages. (Both published by Church Historical Society, Philadelphia. 25 cents each.)

The two new brochures issued by the Church Historical Society are well worth the attention of all its members and of the interested public.

Dr. Eckel has managed to sum up, in a very few pages, the history of the development of the American Prayer Book, from its sources in the

medieval service books to the 1928 book. This is particularly useful for general distribution to parishioners.

Professor Marshall's splendid little brochure contains his commencement address at the General Seminary in May, 1949. Persuasively and wittily, the author shows that the Anglican insistence on "moderation" is no chilly attempt to avoid all commitments, but is a genuine "middle road," in which the extremes of Rome and of the Reformers on the Continent have been avoided in the interests of a scripturally based and reasonably maintained Catholicism. Many will wish to have this address, not only for its argument (which is sound and basic), but for its felicitous style—which is what one might expect in a . . . who has spent long years in the company of Richard Hooker, the apostle of Anglican "moderation."

W. NORMAN PI

*General Theological Seminary,
New York City.*

Introduction to Comparative Mysticism. By Jacques deMarquette. New York: Philosophical Library. Price, \$3.75.

Christ. By Maximilian Beyer. New York: Philosophical Library. Price, \$5.00.

Dr. Runes, who directs the Philosophical Library publishing house in New York, has been responsible for the publication of a number of interesting books in recent years, some of which would doubtless not have appeared had it not been for his wide interests and his desire to bring little-known writers before the public. Two more of these volumes are here reviewed together.

deMarquette's study in mysticism is made up of the Lowell Lectures, given in Boston in 1944. They are a thorough survey of the subject, including Hinduism, Buddhism, Greek and Hebrew mystical writing in the ancient period, Christian mysticism, Islamic and related mystical writers. The author expounds these *con amore*; he would go beyond von Hügel's contention that mysticism is *an* element in religion and argue that it is the one element which can abide when the rest are rejected. Our only objection to his book is precisely at this point; as a survey of the whole subject of the mystical element, this is a useful book, well-fitted to be used in courses on the philosophy and psychology of mysticism.

Of Beyer's book, one can only say that it is compounded of strange theories, inadequate theology (as an orthodox Christian would see it), and wild conjectures. It is an attempt to re-write the life of our Lord and to state his significance in terms of a special thesis—namely, that consciousness of guilt and its removal by re-education round the concept of the sources of power found in the divine Spirit was taught and practiced by Christ and can be shared by his followers. The author writes

with little regard for the findings of biblical criticism; he is not aware of the relation of the gospel story to Church-tradition; in fact, he is another of those who, having been captivated by the figure of Jesus, make him a sort of lay-figure upon which to hang their own theories. For this reason, one can but remark that the book, while interesting and unusual, has little permanent value.

W. NORMAN PITTENGER.

*General Theological Seminary,
New York City.*

Hindu View of Christ. By Swami Akhilananda. New York: Philosophical Library. Pages, 291. Price, \$3.00.

A member of the Vedanta Society writes in this book his appreciation of Christ, differing from much of orthodox Christianity in that he cannot regard Jesus as the *only* incarnation of God, and differing from liberalism in that he cannot regard him as but a good man. The author hopes by presenting Christ as a special and particular type in incarnational action, to reconcile Hinduism and Christianity in a religion which will recognize the values of both.

Much may be learned from the book, especially through its consistent following of the Johannine picture of Christ. As Dean Muelder writes, in his introduction, this portrayal of our Lord is "congenial to Eastern modes of thought and experience." But the absence of the Old Testament insistence on monotheism, the tendency towards an identification of man's soul with divine being, and the failure to interpret Jesus in terms of his actual historical background, can only result in giving us an unsatisfactory view of Christ himself. As to the theological issue, it would seem that a *Christology* depends always on a *theology*; and while Akhilananda is surely right in protesting against an exclusive claim made for Christ, with no regard for what von Hügel called God's many "graces and mercies," his "preveniences and entrances" apart from Jesus into the world, orthodox Christianity does not necessarily make—and in central Catholic faith never has taken—the arbitrary denunciation of non-Christian religions which this author feels is contrary to the spirit of him who came to fulfil man's religious aspiration and need.

W. NORMAN PITTENGER.

*General Theological Seminary,
New York City.*

Dublin: A Study in Environment. By John Harvey. B. T. Batsford, London, 1949). 15 s. net.

John Harvey is well known for his outstanding volume, *Gothic England*. His book on the capital of Eire is no less important in an

entirely different way. He writes as an Englishman who understands and loves the country which has been dear to him from youth. He believes in its greatness and longs for its unity. He makes us pause before we go on hugging our prejudices, and helps us to see things in their right proportion. The growth in numbers of the Roman Church and the corresponding decline of the Church of Ireland is disturbing, but Mr. Harvey thinks "the new silent invasion of Englishmen" may "prolong the present *status quo*" of influence and possession of the ancient cathedrals and churches, but the Church of Ireland must continue to be, as it is now, "a body of intellectual and professional strength in Dublin."

Mr. Harvey emphasizes the contribution which Ireland and Dublin have made to the cause of liberty, and insists that Dublin is one of the very few strongholds of liberty left in Europe. He quotes with approval and sorrow the dictum of another Englishman:

"The descendants of the men who gave their lives in order to induce Liberty to abide with them have now turned round and kicked her out of doors. She has fallen down that well into which Militarism has already chucked the bayoneted bodies of Justice and Truth. In Ireland the stranger feels that no such disaster could possibly befall the community. There freedom may be attacked from without, but it is not (as is the case with England) attacked from within."

The book is an ideal guide, but it is a great deal more than that. It opens to the stranger the heart of a beautiful city, beautiful in its inheritance of greatness in art, literature, and character; in its treasures of the best architecture of the eighteenth century; and beautiful above all in its setting—"Fortunate Dubliners, with endless store of sunlight and sea water and fresh air on your doorsteps—may you make the most of your blessings and never lose them." The book must be read more than once. The illustrations are abundant and satisfying.

R. D. MIDDLETON.

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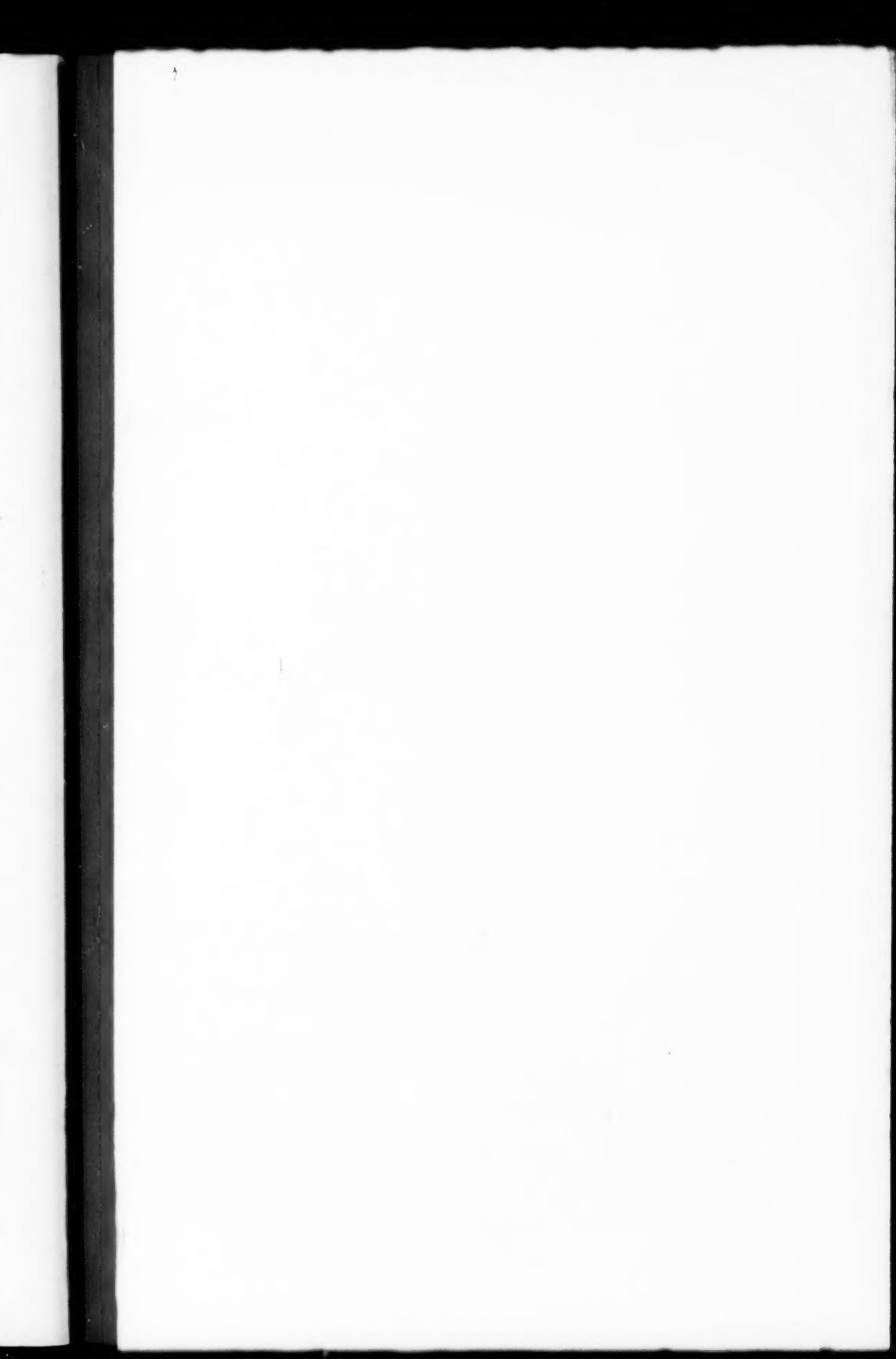
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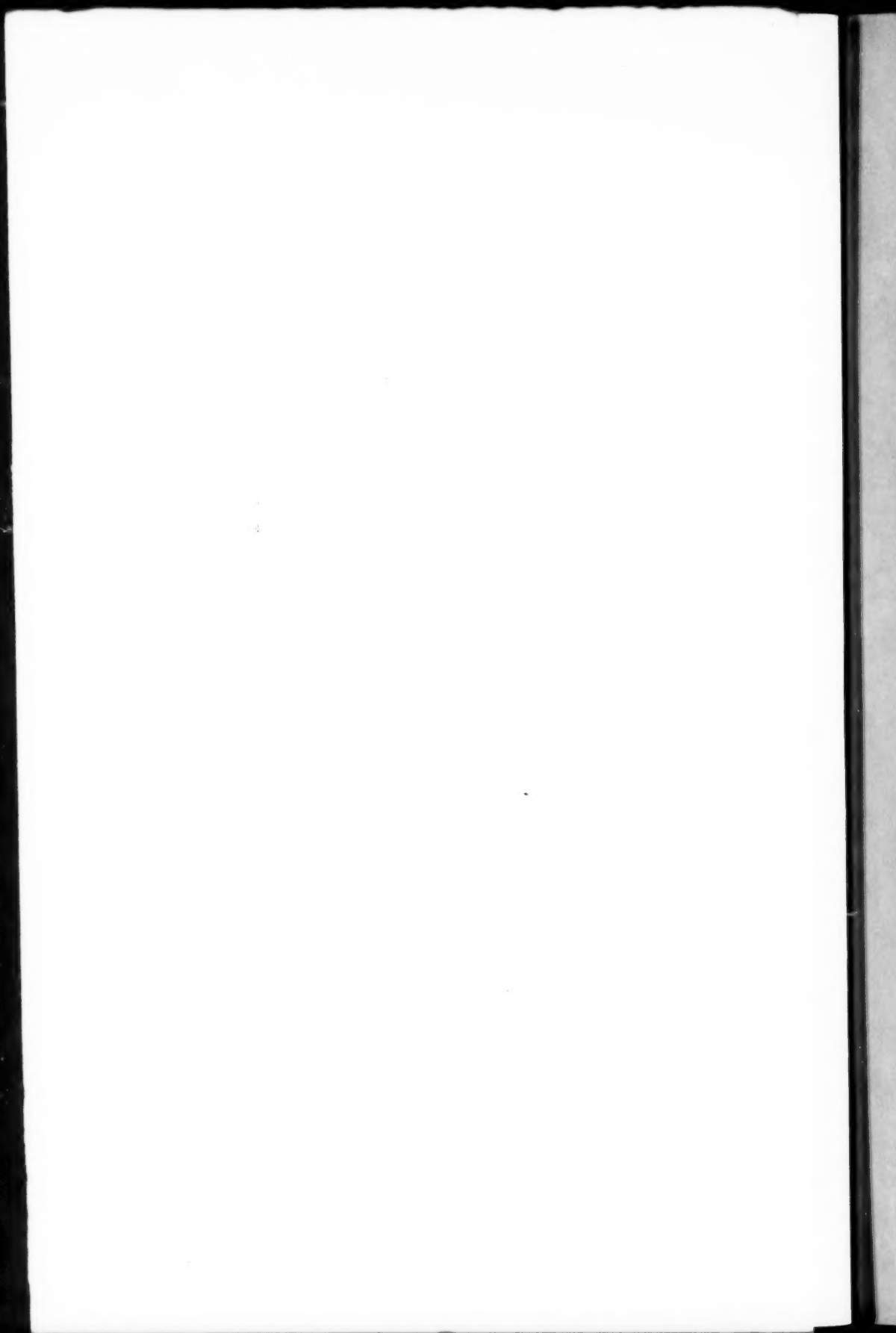
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